

A FOURTH
LETTER
TO THE
People of *England*.
ON THE

Conduct of the M—rs, in ALLIANCES,
FLEETS, and ARMIES, since the first Differences on
the OHIO, to the taking of *MINORCA* by the
French.

*Focerne tecum per litteras? civem meberculi non puto esse, qui
temporibus his ridere possit; ita sunt omnia debilitata jam
prope & extincta.*

CICERO.

To which are added,
Numbers LII and LIII of the
MONITOR,
APPLICABLE to the LETTER.

*Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people
their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.*

ISAIAH, chap. lviii. ver. 1.

You have got an opportunity by God's blessing to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves; but will exert the ancient vigour of the English Nation: but I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay bold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

K. WILLIAM's last Speech to his Parliament.

L O N D O N :

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11. *Leucosia* (Leucosia) *leucostoma* (Fabricius) (Fig. 11)

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LETTER

TO THE

People of *England*.

AT length the long predicted Consequences and fatal Effects of m——l Misconduct, so much derided by those who gave and those who received the Wages of Iniquity, are become too alarming to be denied by the most hardy and inured to that pernicious Practice.

EVEN those who traffick in your undoing, acquiesce in this Truth, and presume to vindicate themselves by asserting ye were found undone, when the Ad——n was delivered into their Hands, and that no Remedy has sufficient Efficacy to save you from Perdition.

THE dire Dilemma into which ye are brought, your distressed Situation, the Loads of accumulated Taxes, the Diminution of Trade, the Neglect of *English* Welfare, the attention to *Germanic* Interests, the Reliances on Foreign Mercenaries, and contempt of *British* Subjects for the Defence of this Island, the whole Conduct of Affairs both at home and abroad in *Europe* and *America*, and that despicable Appearance to which ye are reduced in the Sight of every Nation upon Earth, render this too visible to every Eye the least inquisitive, and too afflicting to every Heart not yet transformed to Stone by the long Practice of plundering it's Native Land.

To avoid all Appearance of inflammatory Declamation, and silence the defamatory Tongues of all who share their Country's Spoils, who assert that every At-

tempt to emancipate you from your Evils, is a malignant Design to depreciate the M——y; let us impartially recall to your Eyes the most material Articles of the Ad——n, since the Commencement of Differences between the *British* and *French* Subjects on the Banks of the River *Ohio*.

IN this place, the more effectually to lay before you the real Causes of this War, it will be necessary to lead you back to a Transaction not sufficiently known by all of you, which passed between the M——y of *France* and *England*.

IN the Year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, or one thousand seven hundred and fifty, some *American* Traders, Subjects of the King of *Great-Britain*, travelled to the Borders of the *Ohio*, to traffick with the Natives of those Parts. This being known to the *Canadian French*, Messengers were dispatched to acquaint them, that unless they withdrew from their Master's Territories, their Effects would be confiscated, and themselves carried to Prison at *Quebec*. This Message the Traders thought fit to obey, and withdrew in Consequence of it.

THE succeeding Season, another Company of *British* Subjects came to trade on the *Ohio*, and not withdrawing on a like Message with the former, their Goods were confiscated and themselves carried Prisoners to *Quebec*, from whence they were brought to *Rochelle* in *France*, and still detained in Prison. Not conscious of having violated the Laws of Nations, or traded on any Ground to which the King of *Great-Britain* had not an undoubted Right, they remonstrated to the *British* M——y, insisted upon being claimed as *British* Subjects, and honourably discharged from Prison, as Persons unoffending the Laws of Nations; nay they entertained the honourable Hopes of *Englishmen*, that the M——y of *Ed* would not cease to demand an Indemnification for the loss of that Merchandise, which had been unjustly taken from them, and Reparation for the Insult and long Imprisonment of their Persons;

Persons; Expectations becoming Men who value their Liberties, Properties, and Nation's Honour; in this they were deceived, the true Spirit of an *English* Master no longer dwelt amongst us, the Ambassador at *Paris*, instead of demanding these Subjects of his Master, as Men unjustly held in Prison, and Reparation for the Injuries they had received, was ordered by the *May* to sollicit, as a Favour from the Court of *France*, the Discharge of them only, acknowledging their Offence. Were not your *Sons*'s Rights, and your own Privileges shamefully given up? Were not the Lands on the *Ohio* confessed to belong to the King of *France*? Were not the *French* justified in imprisoning your Fellow-Subjects, and confiscating their Effects, by this tame Behaviour of the *English* Master?

AFTER this dastardly Concession in those whose Duty it is to defend your Privileges, can it be a Wonder that that Country was claimed by the *French* as their own, or that they began to build Forts and Block-Houses to secure the Trade, and ascertain the Property of it?

LITTLE as this Transaction was known or attended to in *England*, the taking Possession in this Manner of the Frontiers of *Virginia*, alarmed the People of that Province; in consequence of which Mr. *Washington* attacked them in those Parts, and was defeated.

IT seems, however, that before this timid Acquiescence of the *English* Master, in thus acknowledging that Part of *America* to be the Property of *France*, he had granted the Lands on the *Ohio* to a Quaker of the City of *London*, and his Associates.

THUS caught between the King of *France* and a Quaker, like the Mariners of old between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, he became unequal to the Dangers and Difficulty of the Steerage, and fell into great Embarrassments.

He now perceived, that though he had pusillanimously given up to Enemies his Master's Rights and

your Privileges, that the *French* Minister, tenacious of both, and his own honour, could not be negociated into receding from what had been granted him ; he perceived also, that the Quaker, fortified by a pertinacious Adherence to his own Interest, could not be soothed into relinquishing the Grant which had been made him. If the *French* Monarch was backed by the Arm of Flesh, and two hundred thousand Men to support his Claim to the *Ohio*, the Quaker was sustained in his by the Spirit of Obstinacy, and the Interest of the Legion of Sectaries ; on one Side a *French* Invasion and a War filled the M——r with horrid Apprehensions ; on the other, he was greatly disquieted, lest, by deserting the Quaker, he should offend the Money-Jobbers of the City, and be unable to raise the Supplies.

To strengthen this Dilemma of the M——r, there was added to the insuperable Propensity in a Quaker of never relinquishing an Advantage, a secondary Motive, which probably at that Time escaped the sharp-sighted Ken of our M——l Lynceus ; the Grant of the *Ohio*, however great it might be conceived, was a distant and problematical Advantage only, a War on the Continent of *America* was a present and positive one, as the Remittances to the Armies in those Parts, an Object of great Gain, would pass through his Hands, and by Means of this Money sent to *America*, his Debtors in that Country would be enabled to discharge those Debts, which otherwise he entertained but little Hopes of receiving.

URGED by these Motives, this Son of Meekness and Resignation pressed the M——r to send those Subjects, whose Loyalty to their King, and Love to their Country, are above all Fear of Danger, to sacrifice their Lives in recovering the Lands of Men whose Principles will not permit them to defend the Cause, or fight the Battles of King or Country.

THUS, at first, the want of Spirit in the M——r, to vindicate his S——n's Rights and Subjects Privileges,

leges, timidly beseeching as a Favour, what he had a Right to demand as Justice from the *French*, has given that Nation a better Foundation to the Claim of the *Ohio*.

AND, lastly, the Dread of being deserted by Money-Jobbers and Sectaries, has prevailed over the Terror of the *French* Arms, and induced him to attempt the recovering by Force, what he had renounced by Concession: Happy that Nation which is destined to the A—n of such consistent M—rs.

If it be asked, whence it comes to pass that this Behaviour of the B—. /b M—r has never been mentioned in the *French* Memorials relative to the Disputes in *America*, it may be answered, with Truth, that the *French* Ministry perfectly knew that the ceding the Territories of *England*, by the Timidity of the M—r, was no legal relinquishing the B—/b Right to these Lands, and that the K—g and People would never acquiesce in this Concession.

THEY therefore made no public Use of this Argument, reserving it only between the B—/b M—r and themselves, lest a public Declaration of this Affair might remove him from the A—n, and the *French* Monarch lose an Ally of greater Consequence to his Success, than any Potentate in *Europe*; for what can impart such Strength to an Enemy, as the want of Courage and Capacity in the Man who opposes him?

THE *French* M—y had proved in a former War, and by long Experience in Peace, the Inconsistency, Inability, and Timidity of this Man; to these they were greatly indebted for their Success in the late War, on his Dispositions and Capacity they presumed to encroach upon us during Peace, on the same Qualities they promised themselves the like Advantages for the future; to discover his timid and absurd Behaviour was to risque his Removal, an Event to be dreaded by all *French* Subjects. They concluded, perhaps too rashly, that as no Nation ever had furnished two M—rs, succeeding each other, so unequal to the Task of governing

verning as this Man, that therefore no Nation could ; and in consequence of this Manner of Thinking, secreted this Behaviour with respect to the *Ohio*, and chose rather to make *Nova Scotia* the Object of the Quarrel to the Public. This they determined to sustain by Arms, when they found themselves defeated in Argument.

AFTER a most gracious Speech from the Throne at the Beginning of the Session, when all was gentle and pacific, on *Tuesday* the Twenty-fifth of *March*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five, the Scene suddenly changes ; War becomes the universal Conversation, and a Message was sent from his M——y to both Houses, importing that the present Situation of Affairs required an Augmentation of his Forces by Sea and Land, to defend his just Rights in *America*, and repel whatever Attempts might be made against his Kingdoms ; not doubting but his faithful P——t would enable him to make such Augmentations as the Emergency of Affairs should require.

To this Message both Houses presented very loyal Addresses, expressing their utmost Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Royal Person, Family, and Government, assuring him of a ready Compliance in supporting him to repel all Attempts which may be made to disturb, or deprive him of his Kingdoms.

LET us now see what Provision has been made in Defence of all Parts of his M——y's Dominions by his M——r, in consequence of this Resolution of Hostilities. Mr. *Braddock* had been just sent to *Virginia* with *English* Forces ; the fatal Effects of that Expedition, the Weakness of the Design, and ineffectual Execution of it, have been already laid before you.

THE Defeat of that Officer being accompanied with his Death, a Mistake, not inferior to the first Choice of this Commander, was discovered to every Eye ; it seems there was no Officer amongst the remaining

remaining military Force which had been sent to *America*, equal to a Command of such Consequence.

THE M—r then who planned this Expedition, must have concluded that Mr. *Braddock* was both invincible and immortal; otherwise, as a Disease might defeat all the Success which the greatest Courage, Prudence, and Capacity might atchieve, and the *French* Arms prevail by the Loss of a General whom Death only could conquer, he would haye sent a Second equal to the Task of commanding an Army. My Reason for saying this, is, that when Opportunity had proved, contrary to m—l Wisdom, that this General was neither invincible nor immortal, the Command did not devolve on any Officer sent from hence with Mr. *Braddock*.

Now to me it seems, that nothing can be a more convincing Proof of the M—r's imagining Mr. *Braddock* superior to Death and Defeat, and of the supposed Insufficiency of all the Officers who accompanied him, than the Command in Chief falling on G—l S—y.

THIS Gentleman had been bred at the Bar, and was grown old in the Practice of it; by unforeseen Accidents he at last became G—r of a Province in *New England*; he had never been present at Siege or Battle, and his Talents, however nicely adapted to his Profession of the Law and other Departments of a G—r, promised but little Success in the Management of military Affairs, being by Nature slow, diffident, and inert: Him, notwithstanding, the E—b M—r selected to command the King's Armies in *America*, accompanied with the Appointments and Pay of the late Duke of *Marlborough*.

IT is remarkable also, that the m—l Choice falling on this Gentleman, proved a more favourable Circumstance to our Enemies, than could have happened in the appointing of any other *American* Governor. What a surprising Genius for deviating from the Right, is this Nation blest with in a M—r!

THE Character of every other Governor in *America* being unknown to the *French* Court, whoever besides had been appointed G——l, they might probably have concluded that as he ought to be, so he was, equal to the Command of an Army. This would, at least, have made our Enemies less sanguine in their Hopes of Success; but Mr. S——y was as well known at *Paris*, where he resided a long while Com——y for settling *Nova Scotia*, as in *London*; so that the *French* Ministry being perfectly acquainted with his Talents, the Apprehensions of Danger from such a Commander, were but little in their Minds, or in those who were to oppose him.

NAY, so full were the *Parisians*, on the News of his being appointed Commander in Chief in *America*, that the first Salutation amongst those who were acquainted with him, was, *Que pensez vous, Monsieur, Le Ministre d'Angleterre a nommé notre ami Monsieur S——y General des Armies du Roy en Amerique.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this Appellation of Friend by the *French*, I am convinced it did not arise from any prevailing Inclination imagined in G——l S——y towards that Nation; nor would I be thought to blame him for accepting this Post, so honourable and lucrative; to have refused it, would have been an unexampled Instance of Self denial; an Expectation not founded in the Nature of Man: Nothing is more natural than to imagine ourselves equal to every Undertaking which our Superiors conceive us to be; without this prevalent and encouraging Self-opinion, the M——r must have long since resigned his Charge.

IN consequence of being destined to the chief Command, Mr. S——y repaired to *Albany*, where, after long imitating the celebrated *Fabius* in Delay, he at length, with the same Deliberation, began his March, counting his Steps, towards the *Lake Ontario*, where being, alas, too maturely arrived, and perceiving that nothing was to be done against the Enemy, he as deliberately marched back again, meeting no Opposition which

which he did not easily overcome; and thus began and ended the Expedition of G——l S——y, exactly as it had been predicted by all who knew him, imitating the great *Lewis* in going up the Hill and coming down again. In this, however, the whole Blame rests on him who chose, and not him who was chosen; the G——l surely is to be pardoned who failed in his Expedition, when the M——r was so much mistaken in his Judgment of him.

NOTWITHSTANDING this manifest Deficiency in the *B——b M——y*, in the Choice of their Generals, that of the *Americans* was as remarkably just. General *Johnson*, formed by Nature for the military Art, whom Sagacity blended with Courage, Activity with Patience, render what is not always to be found amongst Seen-service and regular bred Warriors, was the Object of their Choice.

THIS Gentleman, with the Militia of the Provinces, took the *French* General Prisoner, and defeated Ten Times the Number of those *French* Troops, before which Mr. *Braddock* and his Regulars shamefully retired; and though this military Success was followed by no farther Advantage to the *American* Cause than that of taking Prisoner the Enemy's General, it must be imputed entirely to the jarring Councils of the different Provinces, Delay in sending Provisions and Recruits, Envy of his Success, and various other Causes.

LET us now turn our Eyes on what was transacted in another Part of *America*. It seems the Inhabitants of *New-England*, being thoroughly acquainted with the Importance of *Nova Scotia*, had resolved to drive the *French* from their Forts in that Part of *America*; with this View General *Winflow* and Two Thousand Militia sailed for *Halifax*, where being arrived, and joined by about Two or Three Hundred Regulars only, under the Command of Colonel *Monckton*, they took *Beau sejour*, and immediately all the other Forts surrendered.

THUS

THUS the only Advantages which were derived from all the military Preparations against the *French* in *America*, were effected by a General, unknown to the *British* M—r, and a Militia of *Americans*, and by an Expedition planned by the Provinces of *New-England*, the last of which Exploits the *Americans* had always in their Power to accomplish, unassisted by Men, Money, or Ships, from this Island: whilst the Generals and the Expeditions appointed by the M—r, were either ignominiously defeated, or rendered ineffectual.

THE last Summer then was productive of the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*, Mr. *Braddock*'s Defeat, Mr. *S—y*'s ineffectual March to *Oswego*, General *Johnson*'s Victory unpursued through Deficiency of Powers, and his relinquishing the Service through Disgust.

THE Campaign being terminated so little to the Advantage of the *Americans*, the most natural Thought which could employ the attention of a Statesman, was that of speedily reinforcing those Parts against the *French* Attempts, which would undoubtedly be more vigorous the succeeding Summer than the former, as Men and Ammunition would be sent them to sustain the Establishments they had made on the Back of the *British* Settlements; let us see what Provision has been made, and how speedily Assistance has been transmitted to your Fellow-Subjects in those Parts, from whence the great Source of your Wealth and Commerce is derived.

THE first Attempt in their Favour was that of creating a Regiment of *Germans* to be enlisted in *Europe*, and sent thither; whose Officers were to be composed of Men, Strangers to this Land, and Aliens to it's Liberties and Privileges, unproved by Experience, guiltless of Siege or Battle, in whose Favour the *British* Subjects of untainted Loyalty and approved Courage were rejected, and even an express Article, in an Act relating to the Settlement of the present august Family

Family on the Throne, was suspended by a particular Bill in Parliament. Notwithstanding all this, transacted in Favour of Foreigners, no Advantage has hitherto accrued to the Plantations from that Design, neither Men or Officers being yet sailed to that Part.

THE Winter passed away, the Spring was advancing ! No G——l appointed ! No *English* Troops destined for the Succour of *America*, 'till on *April* the Fifteenth, the Transports set Sail with *Otway's* and *Murray's* Regiments for *America*, too late to be of any Assistance 'till next Spring, unless the *French* may, peradventure, possess themselves of *Virginia*, or some other ill defended Colony before their Arrival.

IN such Situation and Distress as the Provinces remained at the End of last Autumn, when the Deficiency of Generals was so apparent to all Comprehensions, is it to be believed that the Commander in chief should have been with-held 'till the latter end of *May* ; and yet this has been the real State of the Case.

THAT Man who was to supersede all others in Command, has not been sent 'till it is probably become too late for him to perform any Thing of Consequence this Summer ; the General in chief, who should have been sent last Autumn, and been present in a new Country as long as possible before his entering upon Action, to be acquainted with the different Resolutions of the various Provinces, to have known the Genius of the Inhabitants, planned the Expeditions, and created a confidence in those who were to obey him, was the last Person dispatched on this Occasion.

IT is but lately that even any one has been sent to *America* ; within two Months Mr. *Webb* has superseded Mr. *S——r——y*, General *Abercrombie* Mr. *Webb*, and Lord *Loudon* all of them : by this deep Contrivance, indeed, the M——r has fulfilled the Scriptures, which say, the first shall be last, and the last first ; yet without the Imputation of Infidelity, there are those who cannot believe that the Chief in Command ought to

be

be the least acquainted with the Business he is to undertake.

Is there another Head in *Europe*, besides the m—l, which would have sent Commanders in this Manner? If Lord *Loudon* had gone first, Mr. *Webb* and General *Abercrombie* would have followed naturally; and, as they were under him in Command, fallen into their Places of Duty, which are to obey his Orders and Dispositions; but as the M—r has destined the Affair, the Commander in chief must now follow the Plans of Men inferior to himself in military Knowledge, or remain inactive; for certainly the Preparation for every military Expedition, must have been too far advanced before Lord *Loudon*'s Arrival, to admit of any considerable Alteration; nay, even before Mr. *Webb* and *Abercrombie* arrived; so that Mr. S—y is, in Fact, General in planning the Operation of this Campaign also. How ridiculous then was this m—l Disposition in sending out the Commanders? Lord *Loudon* must, from the Nature of his Commission, which supersedes all others, be imagined superior in every Thing relative to the Commanding an Army, to all who were sent before him; otherwise it is the greatest Absurdity to have sent him at all; and yet, by pure Subtlety of m—l Contrivance, he must necessarily be the least acquainted with what he is to undertake, if he arrives Time enough for Action this Campaign; and bound to follow Operations already concerted by a Man proved unequal to the Undertaking, or remain on the defensive. Is not this cunningly subjecting a Soldier and Man of Capacity to all the Insufficiency of Understanding, in that very Person which was so much complained of in the Conduct of the last Summer's Campaign, and defeating the whole Expedition for this Year? *Admirable Sagacity!*

BESIDES this Inversion of Wrong for Right, so natural to m—l Understandings, in sending the Officers of highest Rank, it is to be observed, that even the inferior Officers of Lord *Loudon*'s Regiment, together

together with Arms, Ammunition, and other military Preparations, lie at this Time * at *Portsmouth*; and, what is not a little extraordinary, the Muskets, and other military Weapons, lay a long while on the Wharfs, waiting for Transports, which were not then hired to take them on Board. I say nothing of the Sagacity of that m——l Conception, which shipped the Carriages of the Cannon on Board one Ship, the Cannon on another, the Ball on a third, and the Powder on a fourth; a Contrivance not easily to be paralleled in any Ad——n. Hence, by this Subtilty of Thought, the Chance of defeating the whole Expedition was increased as four to one; for, if each Article had been proportionably mixed in the Cargoes of the four Ships, the taking one Ship could have defeated but one fourth of the Intention, and so in Proportion; but, as it was designed, the taking one Ship renders the whole useless; how complaisant are the M——s in all their Undertakings to your Enemies?

To this might be added the Five Hundred Barrels of Gun-Powder purchased untried of the *Dutch*, cunningly to prevent it's falling into our Enemy's Hands; which, upon Experiment, proved as explosive as Saw-Dust.

THESE last mentioned Affairs, however, must be considered as below the Attention of M——s, whose Capacities are so different from the common, and are only a farther Confirmation of that great Faculty of rightly distinguishing and selecting Men, fit to be employed in all Situations under their Directions.

IF Deficiency in the Supplies granted by Parliament had been the Cause of this Delay, and Inattention to the most valuable of all our foreign Possessions, much might have been offered in Vindication of a M——r; but, since our most Royal Master, our most Gracious Sovereign, in his most Gracious Speech from the Throne, has been pleased to thank his People for the vigorous

vigorous and effectual Support, which has been granted him, what can be said in Defence of Men, who have thus absurdly applied it, shamefully neglecting the most important Object of this Kingdom. It would be ridiculous to name the Cause of this Delay; it must be assigned to that which no Man in *England* is weak enough not to perceive, the M——r *excepted*.

If then superior Knowlege of Mankind be necessary in a M——r, to direct him in his Choice of those who are to act under him; from these Instances, not purposely selected, what Hopes remain in you of him who always, undeviating, appoints the least qualified for the Task committed to their Care.

HAVING thus set before you the Deficiency in m——l Attention towards providing for the *American* Colonies, without the Commerce of which this Kingdom must soon languish into a total Decay, and shewn that even the trifling Succour hitherto designed since *Braddock's* Defeat, must by the Delay in sending it be rendered ineffectual during this Summer; let me now turn your Eyes on what has been transacted in *Europe* during that Time, in Defence of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, together with another Dominion, not belonging to this Crown, and which to the present Minute has been no great Source of Acquisition to this Nation.

IN Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, during the Time which passed between the Message to both Houses, and the Prorogation of P——t on the Twenty-eighth of April, no Addition was made to our Land Forces: No Law passed to arm the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, against any Invasion from the *French*, a Neglect which there is too much Reason to fear, may one Day prove fatal to this Kingdom; but great Sums of Money were granted, and the equipping a respectable Navy engaged the whole Attention of the Adm——n.

His M——y having put an End to the Session, the same Day, that no Time might be lost, despising

sing the Menaces, and Invasions of the *French*, set out from St. James's, greatly risking his Sacred Person, through Seas and Tempests, to provide for the Defence of his Dominions. During his Absence, let us recollect what were the Occupations of the M——y at Home towards this Attainment: they were employed in committing Violence on your Liberties, depressing the Courage of Sailors by Compulsion, manning Fleets, which have been almost useless by their Destination, and leaving the Island open to the hourly Invasion of the *French*, through Deficiency of domestic Force.

HOWEVER, to the immortal Memory of the M——r, this Inattention at Home was amply recompensed by his Care on the other Side the Water: two Treaties, supposed to be teeming with Advantages to this Nation, were concluded: One with the Empress of *Russia*, the other with the *Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel*; the first signed at *Petersburgh*, the Thirtieth of September Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the other at *Hanover* the Eighteenth of June the same Year.

THE first Article with *Russia*, confirms the Treaty concluded in Seventeen Hundred and Forty-four, by which the Empress agrees to furnish the King of *Great Britain* with Ten Thousand Infantry, and Two Thousand Cavalry, if His M——y's Dominions should be attacked, or with Five Hundred Thousand Rubles in Money, yearly, during the Attack. Neither of which having been demanded during the last Rebellion in *Scotsland*, it seems no unjust Inference to conclude, that that Treaty related to *H——r* only; otherwise, by what Argument shall we justify our M——y, who, during that Time of Peril and Expence, neglected to make that necessary Requisition of the Troops, or Money, in Favour of *England*, stipulated in the Treaty.

THESE Forces being deemed insufficient in the present Emergency, it was thought prudent to increase the Number to Fifty-five Thousand, Forty Thousand

of which, were to be Infantry, and Fifteen Thousand Cavalry ; added to this, Forty or Fifty Gallies were to hold themselves in Readiness, to act on the first Orders.

BESIDES what has been already said, relating to the Treaty of Seventeen Hundred and Forty-five, which makes the Basis of this, the fourth Article in the second Treaty with *Russia*, confirms it's being designed for the Defence of *H——*, only.

IT is there said, that these Troops and Gallies shall not act except His Britannic Majesty or his allies are attacked ; and then the commanding Officer, *as soon as* he shall receive His Majesty's Requisition, shall make a Diversion with Thirty Thousand Infantry, and the Fifteen Thousand Cavalry ; and at the same Time shall embark the other Ten Thousand Infantry on Board the Gallies, in order to make a Descent according to the Exigency of Affairs.

Now does not the second Article by agreeing, that those Troops shall be held in Readiness on the Frontiers of *Livonia*, and the Gallies cruising on that Coast, declare, the Intention to be that of invading the *Prussian* Territories, if the King of *Prussia* shall attempt any Thing against the *H——* Dominions ; otherwise the Stipulation, that the commanding Officer shall make a Diversion with Thirty Thousand Infantry, and Fifteen Thousand Cavalry, *as soon as* he shall receive His Majesty's Requisition, would appear a palpable Absurdity ; because these Troops, which are to make this *immediate* Diversion in Favour of His Majesty, cannot march into *France* in much less Time than six Months, if she should invade this Island : this Diversion then, to be put in Execution *as soon as* the Requisition shall be made on the Part of *Great-Britain*, cannot mean an Attack upon *France* ; much less can their marching to the Aid of this Kingdom be the Intention of that Article, unless the same *M——T*, who, twelve Months since, did not know that *Cape-Breton*

Bretton is an Island, had not at the Time of concluding this Treaty heard that *Great-Britain* is surrounded by the Ocean.

BESIDES this, Gallies being unfit Vessels for transporting Troops on the Ocean, and the Circumstance of being ordered to make a *Descent*, according to the Exigency of Affairs, with Ten Thousand Forces, prove that these also were designed to assist the former Number, in whatever they should attempt, and neither to invade *France*, nor succour *England*. The term *Descent*, being always understood in a hostile Sense, cannot well be intended to signify their coming hither as Friends, and the Number is too small to attempt an Undertaking of that Kind on the Shores of *France*.

IN Consequence of this Agreement then for the Defence of the E——l Dominions, the Empress of *Russia* is to be paid by *Great Britain*, One Hundred Thousand Pounds annually, during the Term of four Years in Times of Peace; and as soon as those Troops shall pass the Frontiers of her Country, Five Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year: in Consideration of this Augmentation of her Subsidy, the Empress is to take upon herself the Payment, Subsistence, and transporting her Troops, wherever they shall be ordered by *Great-Britain*, and not to re-call them 'till the Expiration of the Treaty, though her own Dominions should be attacked.

THIS Article of the Treaty is yet another Confirmation, that it excludes all Idea of the *Russians* being ever intended to defend this Island; because the Pay of an equal Number of *British* Troops, in the same Proportion of Horse and Foot, would annually amount to One Million Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; now is it possible to conceive, the *Russian* Empress can have agreed to support those Forces in *England*, where Provisions are dear, on less than a third Part of that Sum? and where the Pay of each national Soldier is but just sufficient for his Subsistence. Would not this

be a Kind of Compact to starve her own Subjects ? much less would she oblige herself to the transporting them for the same Money, which Expence alone would consume the whole Subsidy.

INDEED, by the eleventh, a truly Christian Article, it is agreed, That the *Russians* shall have full Liberty to plunder wherever they come ; this auxiliary Consideration, as they would not fail to put it in Execution, might probably prove an ample Recompence, for the Smallness of their Pay, after their Arrival in *England*.

HOWEVER, as I think it my Duty to do Justice to all Mankind, weak as our m——l Leaders may be ; it appears, I own, too rank a Contradiction, want of Capacity, and Inattention to their own Interest, to have made a positive Compact, that Foreign Troops shall interfere in the Occupation and Advantages peculiar to themselves, of plundering the People of *E——d*.

WHEREFORE, from this Article alone it ought to be concluded, that this Treaty was made solely for the Interest of *H——r* ; and you the innocent Subjects of *E——d*, were thereby doomed to a more severe Fate, than the Almighty imposed on your first Parents, who rebelled against his Will ; ye must now not only get your own daily Bread by the Sweat of your Brows, but even labour for the Bread of others, who have no natural Claim on you, and with whom ye have no Connection ; thus the Trade and Toll of *Englishmen* must be annually employed, in gaining half a Million of Money for the sole Ease and Safety of the Subjects of *H——r*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Proofs to the contrary, if any one chuses to believe this Treaty included any immediate Reference to the afflicting this Kingdom of *G——t.B——n*, he has my full Consent, even then it will soon appear, I imagine, a small Justification of m——l Proceedings.

AMONGST

AMONGST the many Precautions which all wise M—s have observed in concluding Treaties, there have been two from which they have never swerved; the First is, that in all subsequent Treaties they have observed the strictest Care that no Alliance with a weaker Potentate, shall defeat the Advantages of former Treaties made with a stronger; without attending to this Observation, M—s lessen their Powers by every new Acquisition of Allies, a Subtilty not much unlike the denying the use of Arms to the Subjects of a Kingdom, for their own Defence, during War, and trusting to hireling Foreigners.

THE Second is, that the Honour and Interest of the Nation, which they superintend, are to be the great Objects of all M—s in their Treaties with foreign Nations; without due regard to this Observation, States, like Dupes at Play, become the beggar'd Object of Ridicule to all crowned Heads.

LET us now enquire, whether these two essential Maxims have been judiciously pursued by the M—s of *E—d*, in their Treaties with *Russia*, *Hesse-Cassel*, and *Prussia*.

IN order the more clearly to effect this, we must place Things in the same Situation they were, before either of these Treaties was concluded.

BEFORE the Conclusion of the Treaty with the Empress of *Russia*, the M—s of *E—d* were under no small Apprehensions of the *Prussian*'s laying hold of the growing Differences between *G—t-B—n* and *France*, and possessing himself of some of the Electoral Dominions; this his Undertaking, tho' of no Disadvantage to *G—t-B—n*, might prove notwithstanding a most embarrassing Circumstance, if a War should break out on the Continent, to the M—s of this Nation, whose constant Pursuit it has been to prefer the *H—n* to *B—b* Interests.

To disengage themselves from this Perplexity, it was thought necessary to conclude the Treaty as above specified with *Russia*; and indeed it must be ac-

knowledged that the Prospect of Things by this new Alliance with *Russia*, was greatly improved in Respect to *H—r*; the *Prussian*, who before this subsidiary Treaty with the *Muscovite*, had entertained sanguine Hopes of enlarging his Dominions, was now reduced to fear lest his own Territories might be diminished by this new Alliance.

THIS Treaty then with *Russia*, setting the Interest of this Island out of the Question, which it has constantly been for this forty Years, whenever it came in Competition with that of *Germany*, was truly beneficial to the Electorate of *H—r*; it included the two Advantages abovementioned, of increasing Power by Alliance for the People it was intended, and Honour to the M—s, if Men can merit such Reward, who neglect the Welfare of their own Country, to serve that of Foreigners.

THE Fifty-five Thousand *Russian* Troops were undoubtedly an Augmentation of the Powers of *H—r* and it's Allies, as it subjected the *Prussian* King, their suspected Foe, and whose Interests are as incompatible with the *Austrian*, as those of Heaven and Hell, to no small Terrors on account of *Silesia*, if the Empress-Queen should fix her Heart on reposessing that Gem, which had been plucked from her imperial Diadem, and which she still beholds with longing Eyes; at the same Time then, that the *Prussian*, by his Dread of the *Russian* Arms, was rendered incapable of annoying the Ele—l Dominions; the Friendship between *H—r* and the Empress-Queen, who considered this Treaty as made in her Favour, was greatly strengthened, particularly as the latter entertained Hopes of their being employed in her Service in the recovery of *Silesia*, if the *Prussian* should intermeddle in the Quarrel between the King of *G—t-B—n* and *France*; or in *Flanders*, if the *French* should attack that Part of her Dominions: Thus the *Prussian* King, by means of this Treaty between *G—t-B—n* and *Russia*, was placed

placed in that very anxious Dilemma from which *H—r* had been just extricated.

THIS was the very Situation in which it was the Business of the *E—b M—s* to place and secure him, and to extricate himself as expeditiously as possible, was the great Object of the *Prussian*; let us now enquire which of these has ultimately attained the Ends of their Endeavours.

No Man saw more perspicuously than the *Prussian* Prince, how greatly the Scale of Advantages was turned in Favour of *H—r* and *Austria*, by the Treaty between *G—t-B—n* and *Russia*; he therefore set about devising some Means, by which to relieve himself from this disquieting Dilemma; in Consequence of which Design, from his own pure Inclination, without Overture from *E—d* it seems, he proposes a Treaty between this Kingdom and *Prussia*, which was speedily concluded.

At this Time it was, that the mercenary Tongue-Pads were let loose in Favour of the Wisdom of our *M—s* in the *Russian* Treaty: The salutary and humiliating Consequences which it had produced on *Prussia*, and the beneficial Alliance which had been so long wished, and at length compleated between the two Crowns; let us now examine, whether this last Treaty with *Prussia* has been productive of all those Blessings, which it was boasted to have brought upon it's Wings; or whether like the Drone it has not brought the Sting only without the Honey.

THE two most material Articles in this Treaty are, first, that *G—t-B—n* with her Allies, and *Prussia*, shall mutually assist each other in endeavouring to keep all foreign Troops from entering the Empire.

THE second, that *Great-Britain* shall pay Twenty Thousand Pounds, as an Indemnification for the Captures of that Merchandise which was taken on board *Prussian* Bottoms, condemned and sold during the last

War; and in Return, that *Prussia* shall pay the *Silesia*-Loan.

AND here it seems evident, at first View, that the whole Benefit which might have accrued to the *Austrians*, and even to the *H——ns*, by this Alliance with *Russia*, was defeated by this second Treaty with *Prussia*. Because, as by the *Russian* Treaty the *B——b M——r* had agreed to employ the *Muscovites* in the Empire of *Germany*, to the Aid and Interest of *H——r* and her Allies; in this with *Prussia*, he had most sagaciously engaged to keep them from their Assistance. And thus those Men, who valued themselves so highly for concluding the Treaty with *Russia*, to bring her Forces into *Germany*, were now artfully engaged by the King of *Prussia* to oppose the Entrance of the very Troops which they had hired in their Favour.

By this single Article, did not the King of *Prussia* find himself quite extricated from all the Difficulties in which the *Russian* Treaty had involved him?

If the Empress should attack *Silesia*, he had now no other Affair upon his Hands but that of opposing her Arms; because the *M——s of G——t-B——n* had by Treaty agreed to keep out the *Russians*, and free him from Apprehensions on that Side; from this Change of Circumstances, the Empress-Queen grew disgusted with the *B——b M——r*; she saw herself and her Interests deserted, her Friendship and Alliance rejected, and renounced in Favour of a weaker Potentate: And from that Time, being convinced of the Weakness of the *B——b M——r*, entertained the Idea of seeking the Alliance of a stronger and wiser Power: Thus *Prussia* has totally defeated the sole Advantage, which the *Russian* Treaty had given the States of *E——d* and *H——r* over him, and this Kingdom and the Electoral Deminions lost the use of the *Austrian* Powers, by preferring a weaker Alliance to a stronger.

LET us now suppose that *France*, notwithstanding this Treaty between *G—t-B—n* and *Prussia*, should resolve to attack the *H—n* Dominions, what Advantage can redound to that Electorate from this Convention between *G—t-B—n* and *Prussia*, to oppose the Entrance of all foreign Troops into the Empire? will the *M—s* of this Isle and those of *H—r* rely on this Treaty with *Prussia*, and confide in the Forces of that Prince to prevent the *French* from invading the *H—n* Dominions? or if they should entertain this Confidence, and act in Consequence of it, will the *Prussian* march his Army in their Defence, and give such an Opportunity to the Empress-Queen of recovering *Silesia*, whilst he is deserting his own Dominions, to fight the Battles of *H—r*?

IMAGINE no Man believes, either that the *M—rs* would confide in *Prussia* on such an Occasion, or that King deserts his own Interests to follow those of others.

IF the *French* then, notwithstanding this Convention with *Prussia*, should march towards the Territories of *H—r*, it seems evident that the *Russians*, according to Treaty, must still be invited to the Assistance of the Electoral Dominions; in such a Case, of what contradictory and clashing Circumstances will the two Treaties appear to be composed?

THE Treaty with *Prussia* obliges the *M—s* to exclude the *Russians*, and all Foreigners, from the *German* Empire; that with *Russia*, to call them to the Aid of the Electorate into *Germany*.

THUS the *Russian* Troops, which, by the Agreement with that Empress, are to come as Friends to the Assistance of *H—r*, are by the Treaty with *Prussia*, to be opposed by those very *H—ns*, as Enemies.

IN Consequence of this Alliance with *Prussia*, if the *French* Forces should march to invade the Electoral State, and the *Russians* to defend it, at the Requisition of our *M—s*, the *H—ns* are obliged by Compact

Compact to become so many Drawcansirs, and kill both Friends and Foes.

By the Alliance with *Prussia* they are engaged to keep out the *Russians*; the Moment then the *Muscovites* begin to march, according to Treaty, and the Request of our M—r, to the Assistance of H—r, the Treaty with *Prussia* obliges the H—ns to divide their Troops with those of that Monarch, and march one half to resist the coming of their Allies the *Russians*, and one half to resist their Foes the *French*; what an illustrious Instance of refined and profound Politicks is here produced!

By this judicious Proceeding, our M—s have fairly divested the H—ns of the *Russian* Assistance; for, if they rely on the Alliance with *Prussia*, the *Russians* cannot act in their Favour, and if they claim the Aid of the *Russians*, one half of the H—n Soldiers are, by Compact with *Prussia*, obliged to join and oppose the very Troops they call to their Assistance.

In this Manner, in Obedience to Treaty, the Electorate will be deprived of one half of her Troops wherewith to engage the *French*, because they must be employed to oppose her Friends the *Russians*.

This must be the necessary Consequence of the Treaties with *Russia* and *Prussia*, if both are put into Execution; for, unless the H—ns oppose the *Russians* equally as the *French*, from entering the Empire, the *Prussian* is entirely disengaged from all Obligation between him and the B—b M—s, and the H—ns are the first Infraeters of the Treaty. Wherefore, as it is impossible, from the nature of Things, that the H—ns can oppose the *Russians*, which they have called to their Assistance, it follows, that the *Prussian* cannot act at all, because he would injure the H—ns more, in opposing the *Russians*, by calling off one half of the Electoral Troops, than assist them in opposing the *French*.

THUS

THUS the Result of this boasted Wisdom of the M—r, in the Union between G—t-B—n and *Prussia*, is at last no more than a dexterous Deliverance of the latter, from that peril he was fallen into by the *Russian* Treaty. He is at Ease from all the Fears which that Alliance had imparted on the Account of *Silesia*; disengaged from all Obligation in his Agreement with E—d, by the Absurdity of our M—s, and the almost Impossibility of it's being put in Execution; and may not improbably, by virtue of this Alliance, be supported against the House of *Austria*, by the very *Russians* which our M—s originally had hired to oppose him.

HAVE they not then thus cunningly deprived themselves of all the Advantages which the Treaty with *Russia* had given them? have they not, by renouncing the *Austrian* Interest, displeased the Empress-Queen? and, by this Alliance with a weaker Power, rendered themselves less able to resist the *French* Arms in *Germany*? have they not united the Houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*, after having spent Three Hundred Millions to keep them asunder, and to support the latter in opposition to the former? is it possible then that those M—s, who have been so easily circumvented by the *Prussian* King, could ever have perceived the Force and Efficacy of that Treaty with *Russia*? Ought not then the *Muscovite* Alliance to be deemed the pure Effect of Chance or Malice (which the Article on plundering seems to insinuate), as that with *Prussia*, the legitimate Child of Ignorance and Mistake?

AFTER having, in the above Manner, shewn the Effects of the first Article in the *Prussian* Treaty, which, indeed, concerns the H—n Welfare immediately only, let us consider the Consequences of the second Article with Respect to G—t-B—n, in which the B—b M—s agree to give Twenty Thousand Pounds to the King of *Prussia*, in lieu of Merchandise taken on board *Prussian* Bottoms, condemned and sold during last War; and that Prince to pay the Subjects

Subjects of this Island the Remainder of the *Silesia*-Loan.

ABSURD as the first Article has been proved to be, this second is not one Step behind it in Mistake and Ridicule, and even before it in pernicious Consequences; for as that first Article, by having united *Austria* and *France*, may now cost this Island Two Millions of Money, in supporting the *Russians* for the Interest of *Prussia*, if *Silesia* should be attacked: So the second Article of the Agreement bids fair to destroy all the Commerce of *G-t-B-n*, at least all the Advantage she can draw from a superior Fleet in Time of War.

THE Merchandise repaid for by this Treaty was, what had been legally taken, condemned, and sold. The Equity of this Proceeding had been defended, and our Right justified in a Letter from the M—r to the *Prussian* Court; and much more so in a Memorial drawn by a Lawyer and Civilian, whose Eminence and Learning do Honour to this Nation. Nay, it was even asserted by these Men, that the Welfare and Existence of this State, as a maritime Power, essentially depended on our persevering in our Right to these Captures; and this, I believe, is the Opinion of all Men of Understanding in the Nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, in Contradiction to all good Sense and sound Policy, Restitution for these Captures has been made to *Prussia*.

By this Concession, we either acknowledge that we have no Right to seize military Stores, designed for our Enemies, on Board neutral Bottoms; that the Decrees of that Nation, on Board whose Ships they are taken, are valid, though contradictory to those made in the Courts of *G-t-B-n*; or that our M—s are become such timid and abject Wretches, that whatever crowned Head, however contemptible on the Seas, shall dare to dispute the Legality of seizing and confiscating such Stores, shall be repaid whatever his Subjects may lose.

I AM sensible the M——s assert, that this twenty thousand Pounds was not given to the King of *Prussia* as an Indemnification for the Captures made last War, but because they had a mind to present him so much of that Money, which you labour to procure for them to squander.

Is not this Answer to the full as childish as the Article is pernicious ; like two Boys at School, where one gives the other Money not to be beaten, and yet insists it was not through Fear but pure Love ; does this excuse him from the Imputation of Cowardice, or Change the Motive in the Opinion of his School-Fellows ? Will not he be insulted by all the others as much as if he had confessed the true Reason ?

THIS illustrious Instance of want of Sense and want of Resolution must have an advantageous Tendency at the Eve of a War ; will not the *Prussian* still insist upon the Right of carrying Stores in his Ships to your Enemies ? Will not the *Dutch*, *Russians*, *Danes*, and *Swedes*, with all the other maritime States of *Europe*, demand, put in use, and support the like Privilege for themselves, which you have already granted to the *Prussian* ? And, if you oppose this Liberty, will not your Captures of their Ships, however legal, draw the Resentment and Arms of all *Europe* upon you ?

WHAT then is the Advantage of the Payment of the *Silesia*-Loan, when compared to the dreadful Consequences of this Concession ? How will you now distress effectually the Commerce of your Enemies, if your M——s permit neutral Ships to transport and traffic, not only in the common Produce and Merchandise of *France* and her Colonies, but even in military Stores, to the Destruction of all your Trade and Security ? Will you longer vaunt your Empire of the Ocean ?

THUS then, as by the former Article, the M——rs of this K——m had effectually destroyed the good Effects of the *Russian* Treaty with Respect to *H——r*, in this they have given a fatal Wound to the Interest and

and Honour of *G—t-B—n*. Destined, as ye are, to labour for *German* Welfare, how will ye support the Expence of those Millions which it must cost, when the Source of all your Riches, your Trade, is destroyed ?

Now let me ask those hireling Trumpeters of the m——l Wisdom in concluding the *Prussian* Treaty, What are the boasted Advantages which are derived from it to this Kingdom ? is the Conclusion stronger in Favour of m——l Wisdom or m——l Weakness ? and what has this Nation to expect under the Direction of such penetrating and all-seeing M——s, who have, by two Articles in one Treaty, driven *Austria* from their Interest, united her with *France*, adopted the weak Alliance of *Prussia*, laid *H——r* open to *French* Invasion, destroyed the Commerce of *G—t-B—n*, and rendered our Arms and Councils contemptible in the Opinion of all *Europe* ?

HAVING thus, in some degree, explained the pernicious Effects of the *Prussian* Treaty, let us examine what Advantages are likely to be derived to this Kingdom from that with *Hessel-Cassel*, and what are the Merits of the M——r in making it, and behaving in Consequence of it's Conclusion.

THE great Object of this Treaty is, that either eight or twelve thousand Troops, as *G—t B—n* shall require, of which the sixth Part is to be Horse, are to be furnished by the *Landgrave* of *Hesse* for this Kingdom or her Allies, and to be paid for by *E——d* only.

Now, as increasing the Strength and sustaining the Honour of a Nation should always make the great Objects of a M——r in his Treaties with foreign Nations ; so Frugality in supporting and complying with them in the Management of the public Money, should ever be inseparable from every Article.

LET us see whether this last Duty of public Parfimony has been more closely pursued in the Alliance with

with *Hesse*, than those of Power and Honour were observed by that with *Prussia*.

By the fifth Article it is agreed, that every Trooper shall first be purchased at about twenty Pounds Sterling, and every foot Soldier at about seven Pounds; which, in all, makes about a hundred and twelve thousand Pounds levy Money; besides this, the *Landgrave* is to have about thirty-seven thousand Pounds annually before the Troops march; and, as soon as they march, he is to receive seventy-four thousand Pounds annually, 'till they enter into pay according to that of *H—r* or *E—d*; at which Time, the Subsidy returns to about thirty-seven thousand Pounds annually; which again, when the Troops are sent back, is to return to seventy-four thousand Pounds a Year, during the whole Duration of the Treaty which is four Years.

In the mean Time, whatever Men or Horses die by Disease, or are killed in Battle, the Beast is to be paid for at double the Price of the human Being; a blessed Consideration for the Subjects of *German* Princes!

In like manner, whatever Arms or Artillery shall be found deficient, or taken by the Enemy, a full Recompence is to be made by *G—t-B—n* to the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*.

By the tenth Article, these Troops shall be instantly sent back whenever the Dominions of the *Landgrave* shall be attacked.

Let us now, in Obedience to the Inclinations of the *M—r*, allow that the *Russians* as well as the *Hessians* were by Treaty obliged to come to the Assistance of *G—t-B—n*: it being at length determined that *France* would certainly invade this Island, that the *B—sh* Forces were unequal to the repelling a hostile Invasion; that the Subjects of *E—d* should not be armed in the Defence of themselves, their King, and Country; and that foreign Mercenaries were necessary for our Protection and Safety; Let us then

then explain with what admirable Fore-thought, Prudence, and Oeconomy, the M—s have proceeded with Respect to the Security of this Land in the Requisition of Troops, according to the two Treaties.

FIFTY-FIVE thousand Troops are, by Compact with *Russia*, to be sent by the Empress of that Nation to assist *England*; these Forces she is to transport and sustain for the annual Subsidy of five hundred thousand Pounds, without any farther Consideration for Death of Men and Horses, or loss of military Stores, and no return of them is to take Place during four Years, if the *Russian's* Dominions should be hostilely invaded.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Conditions of this Treaty are so favourable in Price and Frugality, no Requisition of *Russians* has been made in behalf of *G-t-B-n*, but eight thousand *Hessians* are brought into *England*, the Expence of which will amount this Year, as the M—s confess, including levy Money, Subsidy to the *Landgrave*, Death of Men and Horses, transporting hither and back again, and Pay, to a Million Sterling.

THUS this military Aid in *Hessians*, costing double the Money that seven Times that Assistance would have done in *Russians*, is fourteen Times as expensive; a plain Proof how different the Bargains are which are made between this Nation and the *Germans*, and this Nation and *Russians*; and how much Oeconomy in the public Money, and the Defence of this Island, enter into the Transactions of the M—s with *German* Princes.

ONE Article of Frugality in the public Money must not be omitted. Amongst the Troops landed in *E—d*, there are about nine hundred Horses, which, one with another, are not worth more than four Pounds a-piece; notwithstanding which, each of these Horses has already cost about twelve Pounds levy Money, and nine Pounds in being transported hither; after this, twelve Pounds more is to be paid for each Horse

Horse which dies in the Island; thus every dead *Hessian* Horse will cost this Nation thirty-three Pounds, eight times the real Value, and becomes to the *Landgrave* worth three times more dead than alive. Is it not then the Interest of the *Landgrave*, and the Duty of the commanding Officer, to take special Care that none of these Cattle ever revisit their native Land; however, if any of them should survive, nine Pounds more are to be paid for the Re-transportation of each; thus the Hire of every *Hessian* Horse, worth four Pounds, will then be only thirty Pounds Expence to you; not quite eight times his Value.

FROM this Article may it not be justly inferred, that our M—s are as unskilled in Beasts as Men, and that this Kingdom is the best Market for German Carrion in all *Europe*.

ANOTHER Advantage attending the *Russian* Treaty, not to be found in the *Hessians*, besides Number and Cheapness, is, that the *Russians* are by Agreement obliged to remain here to your Assistance, though the Empress, their Mistress, should be attacked.

Now suppose the Empress-Queen of *Hungary*, supported by this Alliance with *France*, should invade *Silesia*; no improbable Event, if the Articles said to be in the Treaty between those two Powers are true; and at the same Time the *French* should attack the Dominions of *H—r* or *Hesse*, will not this Island be then instantly divested of all foreign Assistance from *Hessians*, as these Troops must instantly return to the Defence of their Prince. Thus, as well in Use as Oeconomy, the m—l Choice of *Hessians*, who cannot tarry to your Aid, in preference to *Russians*, who are engaged too, is most egregiously conspicuous and disadvantageous to this Kingdom.

THIS Mistake, or something more criminal, in preferring the Aid of eight thousand *Hessians* to fifty-five thousand *Russians*, and wasting a Million of Money for the seventh Part of the Assistance, which may be rendered useless also, one would have imagined

might

might have been sufficient to give the M—s an Intimation of their Error in the Application of the Treaties. Nothing appears to be less true, it being conceived that the Kingdom was not yet sufficiently protected from *French Invasion*: It was agreed to request the El—r of H—r, your dear Ally, that he would be graciously disposed to save this Nation, by assisting the K—g of G—t-B—n with eight thousand of his Troops.

HERE again the *Russian* Treaty was totally neglected; it was judged more eligible to apply for H—ns, at a fresh Expence, than to make a Requisition of the *Russian* Troops. In Consequence of this Opinion, the P—t requested, and the Kingdom was favoured with eight thousand H—ns Forces, which are since arrived. Does not this Proceeding afford a fresh Instance of m—l Profusion; for tho' the Sum granted on this Account, is vastly short of what the M—ns confess will be the Expence of the *Hessians*, without the Gift of Prophecy one may venture to predict, that, at the Conclusion, when the Application of the Mil—n, granted by Vote of Credit, comes to be specified, this Expence will be equal to that of the *Hessians*; because I am convinced, the great Wisdom and Knowlege of the El—r of H—r, in concluding all subsidiary Treaties, is in no Sense inferior to that of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. According to this way of reasoning, eight thousand *Hessians* and eight thousand H—ns may cost two Millions of Moneys four Times the Sum of almost four Times the Number of *Russians*. Add to this the Probability of the H—ns being less liable to try your Assistance than the *Hessians*; as H—r will more likely be attacked than Hesse, it may not improbably happen, that these two Millions will be uselessly wasted in Subsidies and other Expences on foreign Troops, which cannot be of Service in protecting G—t-B—n, whilst those that might be are entirely neglected and unrequested.

IT was expected indeed, by every sensible and honest *Englishman*, that as the *Russians* were now visibly hired for the Defence of *H—r* only, that the *H—ns* were to come hither in lieu of those *Russians*; and that, as *G—t-B—n* now paid fifty-five thousand *Muscovite* Forces to defend the *Ele—e*, that the eight thousand *H—ns* were to be at the same Expence by way of Exchange to protect *E—d*.

THIS Suggestion, however reasonable it may seem, proves by no means true in the Event; for, not only the *H—ns* as well as *Russians* are paid by *G—t B—n*, but there is too much Cause to suspect, that, yet another Bargain is concluded for eight thousand *Holsteiners* (since even the *M—r* had not the Hardiness to contradict that Assertion, when he was called upon) to be paid for with *B—sh* Money, that *H—r* may lose no Defence by the Absence of those Troops which are arrived to the Assistance of *E—d*; what a stupendous Instance is this, again, of m—l Profusion in Favour of *German* States and neglect of *E—sh*! Five hundred thousand Pounds annual Subsidy to *Russia*, added to a Million for *H—ns* tack'd to half that Sum, suppose for *Holsteiners*, make two Millions of Money for the feeble Succour of eight thousand *H—ns*, to be paid by *E—d*; which Troops after all, it is probable, may not tarry four Months for the Protection of this Island.

THUS the preferring *Hessians* to *Russians* at fourteen Times the Expence, is here again doubled, and the eight thousand *H—ns* are chosen at the Proportion of twenty-eight Times the Cost which was agreed to be given for the *Russians*.

IN this Manner the Servants of the Public, the Guardians of your Liberties and Properties, the *M—rs*, have made three Conventions in the Place of one, neither of which by this happy Contrivance will probably be of the least Importance or Security to this Island, unless rendering you poor and despicable, and dooming your Hands to triple Labour, for raising

Money to pay these foreign Mercenaries, be a public Benefit to this K——m.

MISTAKEN, absurd, and profuse as this Requisition of *H——ns* and *Hessians*, in preference to *Russians*, may appear to be, it is not yet by ten thousand Degrees, equally pernicious in its Effects with that Resolution, which has been taken against permitting you, Natives of *E——d*, to protect yourselves, your King, and Country.

By this Act, the M——rs have subjected you, either to the Invasion of your Enemies, or the arbitrary Will of mercenary Troops, invited hither under the Notion of protecting you.

THE Militia Bill, that necessary Law devised for entrusting Arms to your Hands, had for it's Objects the most laudable Motives; Defence for yourselves, your S——n, and your Country.

THE Security of these, was to have been effectuated by a Militia, consisting of Sixty-two Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty Men, levied, cloathed, and paid by the trifling Sum of One Hundred Seventy-five Thousand, One Hundred Ninety-seven Pounds, and which the succeeding Year, would not have amounted to two thirds of that Money; eight times the Defence of the *H——n* Forces, and yet not one tenth Part of the Expence: including also in it's Favour, what no Sums of Money can purchase, the Love of their King and Country, animated by the Defence of their Wives, Children, and Properties.

THIS Measure, so necessary in itself, which would have rendered you at the same Time free from the Fears of hostile Invasion, and the Conquest of mercenary and pretended Friends: This Measure, reputable for the Subject, parsimonious of publick Money, honourable to the M——r, glorious to the K——g, salutary to the Constitution, and beneficial to the Country, was rejected for Inattention, Profusion, Disgrace, Dishonour, Insecurity, and Ruin; Freemen gave way to Slaves, *Britons* to Foreigners, Liberty to Thralldom:

dom: Is there then the Bosom of one *Englishman*, which still remains unwounded with the Idea of this ignominious Treatment? accused as you are of Cowardice or Disloyalty; Cowardice, if your Loyalty is unsuspected; Disloyalty, if you are yet esteemed a brave Nation; Disloyalty to such a S——n, as till this Reign has never filled the Throne of E——d. For what other Reasons can Arms be withheld from your Hands?

SINCE then your Hands are denied the use of Arms, stretch them empty as they are to Heaven, though impotent with Men, they may yet be prevalent before the Almighty; ye are not yet denied the Privilege of Prayer, implore him to have that Mercy on the B——b Subjects which the M——rs have refused, that since by Misconduct, want of Understanding, or Iniquity, they have driven every powerful State in *Europe* from your Alliance, and by Profusion and denial of Arms rendered you incapable of fighting for your Prince, that Heaven of it's all gracious Favour will be pleased to preserve and protect him, yet to reign over ye a Free and Happy People; by this Means alone it seems possible, that ye can be extricated from the numberless Perils which surround you.

HAVING now, in some Degree, placed the Conduct of the M——rs in it's just Light, as it respects their Behaviour in providing for *America*, *H——r*, and *G——t-B——n*, by Land Armies and Treaties; let me turn your Eyes on the Administration of naval Affairs, and candidly examine, whether Symptoms of a more extensive Capacity and greater Prudence have appeared in conducting this Part of the m——l Province, than in the former.

IN January Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five, the Press for manning the B——b Fleet began with great Violence; scarce any Age or Quality preserved the brave Seamen from this Violation of B——b Liberty; every Dock-Yard resounded with innumerable Strokes of Axes, caulking Hammers, screeching Tackles, and Cries of Workmen; Pitch, Tarr, and Uproar, filled

the Towns of *Chatbam*, *Portsmouth*, and *Plymouth*; Dispatch, panegyrick, and my L——, were united in the Mouths of all Men! No Time could furnish an Instance of such Capacity in the Head of the Ad—— as the present, and even the Diligence of Mr. ——— at *Plymouth* Dock, who had most amazingly, by Means of thirty Coopers, made a Hundred Tons of Cask in twenty-four Hours, to supply Admiral *Boscawen's* Fleet, was attributed to the great Sagacity and Foresight of this great M——r in naval Affairs.

AND indeed it must be acknowledg'd, that the Merit of this Expedition in Cask-making of the Agent-Victualler at *Plymouth* Dock, was as much due to this great naval M——r (of which he knew nothing 'till it was compleated) as any other Part of marine Preparation.

THE Officers who preside in the King's Yards, have indeed a just Claim to the Praise of this Kingdom for their Diligence in equipping Ships of War; to them and to the great Quantity of naval Stores long laid in, it was owing that Ships were so speedily prepared for the Sea; for which Reason, my sacrilegious Hand shall never rob the Cottage of the deserving Man in Low-Life, to decorate the Palace of the undeserving, to whom Chance has given Riches and Titles; or erect a Trophy to a L——d from Spoils which common Men have won.

A PARROT which could have pronounced by Authority, Equip ten Ships at *Chatbam*, ten at *Portsmouth*, and ten at *Plymouth*, would as effectually and as speedily have produced a Fleet ready for the Seas as the Voice of the First L——d of the Ad——y, and deserved as great an Encomium for the Transaction.

THE Completion of the Business was effected where he was not present, without one new Intervention, uncommon Exertion, or peculiar Attention of the Understanding; and which after the Order had escaped his Lips, whether he had been asleep or awake, dreaming or pretending to think, in his

his easy Chair or on Horseback, would have been equally compleated in the same Time.

LET us now examine, whether the Man who has in this Manner been extolled to the Skies, as the best adapted for naval Ad——n, by the Merits of Boat-swains, Gunners, Shipwrights, and Dock-Officers, and what he did not perform, has proved himself, in the Execution of these Duties which belong to him in chief, equal to the Post in which he has presided; and deserving that Applause, which in the beginning was so liberally bestowed upon him. To accomplish this, permit me to enquire in what Manner, and to what Purpose, the Fleets of E——d have been disposed and destined, since the first naval Preparations in January Seventeen Hundred and Fifty-five.

THE first Instance in which the great Knowlege of this President in maritime Ad——n was exhibited to the Publick, was in that Expedition in which Mr. *Boscowen* was ordered to intercept the *French* Fleet, designed to carry and convoy Stores to the Assistance of *Canada*: The whole of this remarkable Exhibition of Knowlege in marine Affairs, has been already explained in a first Letter to the People of E——d; in which it has been proved, that the Number of the Enemy's Ships was unknown to our A—— or not attended to; that our Fleet was insufficient to the Undertaking, if the Destination of it had been, as it ought, before *Brest*; because *Macnamara*'s Squadron was superior to the *English* at his leaving that Port: For the same Reason had he continued his Voyage to *America*, Mr. *Boscowen* and Mr. *Holbourne*, by the Weakness and Division of their Fleets, would probably have fallen a Prey to that of the *French*; and even as it did happen, though the Fleet of *France* was rendered inferior to that of Mr. *Boscowen* by Mr. *Macnamara*'s return to *Brest*, all Power of reaping any considerable Advantage from it was defeated, by the *English* Fleet, being destined to cruise on the Banks

of *Newfoundland*, in those Months when that Station is covered with one general Fog and Darkness.

THE French Fleet being arrived in the River *St. Lawrence*, without any Injury which could defeat the Purport of their Undertaking, the same Genius which had so manifestly erred in the Disposition of every Article in Mr. *Boscowen's* Voyage, was now determined to make ample Atonement to his Country for this Deficiency of Judgment, and by distributing the *E—sh* Fleet in such a Manner, that not a *French* Ship of War should escape it in her Return to *France*, demonstrate that he was yet equal to the supreme Conduct of the *E—sh* Navy.

MR. *Boscowen* being ordered home, Mr. *Holbourne* was commanded to cruize between *Cape Breton* and the South Western Parts of *Newfoundland*, to intercept the *French* Fleet returning from the River *St. Lawrence*, which Service he punctually performed. Now it was that the m——l Advocates were extreamly clamorous in their Panegyricks on the Destination of this Fleet, and him who had ordered it; notwithstanding which, it seems impossible to omit observing the Parallellarity of Judgment in this Affair, between our First—— of the Ad—— and a Justice of Peace in the Western Parts of *England*.

IT seems some time last Summer, a Thief who had robbed, and been apprehended (a desperate Fellow) had escaped from before the Justice, and flying to another House had bolted the Door, and secured himself in one Room of it. The Constable, who had followed to this Retreat, knowing the Rashness of the Man, and the Nature of his Situation, conceived no small Apprehensions of Danger in attacking him in that Place; he therefore with great Prudence acquainted his Worship with the Circumstances of the Affair; the Justice, after mature Deliberation, wisely considered it was impossible that the Thief, was he ever so brave, through want of Provision and other Necessaries, could long remain in that Post: He therefore ordered

the

the Siege to be turned into a Blockade, and bade the Constable and his Assistants to arrive before the Door ; Watch the Door, Tom, says his Worship to the Constable, through that Door he must come, therefore mind the Door, and he cannot possibly escape us.

THIS being resolved on, nothing could be more *alert* than the Constable, and no Men *in higher Spirits*, than his Gang ; the Commander, as soon as it was dark, placed a Lanthorn and Candle at the Door to see all that might pass from or to the House, and during the whole Night, most manfully, with his Associates, stood on his Arms, ready prepared with his Staff in his Hand, happily to demolish the Thief the Moment he should pretend to sally and escape him.

THIS Duty being performed through the Length of two whole Days and two whole Nights, the Justice in momentary Expectation of hearing that the Thief was taken, and the Constable haranguing the Mob, which attended on the Thief's Perseverance ; at the same time wondering, that he had not been obliged to surrender through Drought and Hunger ; when an old Acquaintance of the besieged arrived with Intelligence, that he had met the Thief the first Morning after his Confinement, at the break of Day, twenty Miles from that very House, in which the Justice had to that Moment imagined he was closely shut up. In fact, the sagacious Head of the Justice had never conceived, that, notwithstanding a Door may be bolted ever so strong, and watched ever so diligently, that a Man might get out at the Window, as it really happened in this very Case.

IN like Manner, whilst Mr. *H——ne*, according to the Orders of his Superior, was cruizing at the Door between *Newfoundland* and *Cape Breton*, and the marine M——r believed *Dubois de la Motte* still confined and starving in the River *St. Lawrence*, that fly *Frenchman* slipt through the Window, between the northern Parts of *Newfoundland* and the Continent, by the *Streights*

Streights of *Bellisle*, unsuspected by the penetrating Spirit of our first D——r in marine Affairs ; so that he heard *de la Motte* and his Squadron were safely arrived at *Brest*, before he knew he had quitted the River *St. Lawrence*.

THUS then, in the Conduct of this naval Transaction, there are to be found five very conspicuous Instances of most consummate Ignorance ; first the Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Ships ; secondly the Insufficiency of the *English* Fleet ; thirdly, their not being ordered to cruize before *Brest* ; fourthly, their being ordered to cruize where they could not see their Enemy ; and fifthly, to cruize between *Newfoundland* and *Cape Breton*, to intercept a Fleet which did not pass that way.

THIS Justice, however, must be done the marine M—— to his Honour ; the first Ignorance of a proper Station for cruizing, preserved the *English* Fleet from the Danger of the last Ignorance of the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, and Insufficiency of our own.

NOTWITHSTANDING this uniform Concatenation of Errors, there are those who attempt to justify this Conduct, by saying it was impossible for Mr. *Holbourne*'s Fleet to attempt intercepting *De la Motte*'s in both Passages, because his Squadron was not sufficiently strong to suffer Division for that Purpose ? Why then did the marine M—— expose himself to Ridicule, in attempting to do that which he ought to have known must have proved ineffectual, and risque the Destruction of his Master's Ships, by Rocks and Tempests in those Seas, where they could meet no Adversary and do no Service ; did my Lord *Winchelsea* ever conceive so fruitless an Attempt, or commit so egregious a Mistake.

HENCE then it may be gathered, that if hereafter any naval Captain, indulged with five Ships, at the Expence of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds of the Nation's Money, to make a Fortune for himself, shall sail round the Globe, and by the very utmost Effort

of all possible Chances, like throwing twenty Aces on twenty Dice the first Time, take a Ship worth a Million of Money for his and his Company's Advantage ; that though he does not surround a weaker Man than himself, he may yet preside and direct the whole Navy of *E——d* to the Ruin of the Kingdom.

SUCH *Fatality*, according to the present fashionable Phrase of Excuse, having attended the Conduct of this naval Expedition in every particular ! A *Fatality* doomed to attend insufficient Judgments nine times in ten, since the Creation ! A fresh Instance offers itself, of reinstating our marine M——r in the popular Opinion, which began greatly to decline in his Favour.

IT seems Monsieur *Du Guay*, a *French* Admiral, was arrived at *Cadiz*, with six Ships of the Line in his way to *Brest* ; this Admiral, and this Squadron, the same naval Genius, who had so wisely destined the former Fleet of *E——d*, was determined to intercept.

HE remembered the Errors which had been imputed to his Charge in the Destination of *Boscowen's* Fleet, Insufficiency in Force, and wrong Appointment in the Station of cruizing ; he was therefore determined to avoid these two Mistakes, at least at this Time ; accordingly on the eighteenth of *July* Mr. *Hawke*, with eighteen sail of the Line, was sent to intercept the six *French* Ships under the Command of *Du Guay*, and with this whole Fleet, so superior to the Enemy, to cruize off Cape *Finisterre*, 'till the *French* Ships should appear.

THIS Exploit again was trumpeted forth by m——l Hirelings, as an insuperable Proof of great marine Knowledge in the Director ; the Station was happily chosen, the Number of the Ships sufficient, and the Game sure ; here was nothing for the most malevolent Disposition to blame : Envy must now be dumb, or, if it spoke, speak in the Praise of this Design ; and yet a Mistake much like the former in it's Consequences prevailed also at this Time, and in this Manner it must

must prevail, when Designs miscarry, not from Accidents, for which Men of Sense may be pardoned in not foreseeing, but from radical Insufficiency and Understanding.

IT seems that the same Head, which had conceived that there was but one way of sailing from *Canada* to *Brest*, and had never thought of the Streights of *Bellisle*; had in this Place, imagined the Sea like *Hounslow Heath*, where a Man may sit on Horseback on one side and see what passes on the other, and that all Ships which are steering to *Brest* from *Cadiz*, are obliged to turn the Corner at Cape *Finisterre*, like race Horses at a Post, or lose their Voyage. Probably this great naval M——r had reasoned much in the following Manner; all Ships, which have no Enemy to fear or avoid, in their Course from *Cadiz* to *Brest*, make Cape *Finisterre*; wherefore, every Ship which knows there is an Enemy in the Way, and has Reason to be under Apprehension of Danger, will certainly sail the same Way; and therefore Mr. *Hawke* shall be destined to cruize off Cape *Finisterre* to intercept them. Admirable Instance of Sea Logick! without reasoning in this Manner, is it possible he could have destined the Fleet as he did?

MONSIEUR *Du Guay*, however, it seems from the same Principles drew Inferences diametrically opposite; and in order to avoid the usual Course which is steered from *Cadiz* to *Brest*, sailed directly West from *Spain* into the *Atlantick Ocean*; when being at a great Distance from the Coast, he changed his Course, and stood directly for the Land's End of *E——d*; by this Precaution of sailing West to a great Distance before he steered towards the Channel, he passed on the outside of all our Fleet, cruizing at Cape *Finisterre*; and arriving safely in the Channel, fell in behind it with his Squadron, and got safe into the Harbour of *Brest*.

SUCH was the Event of this second Exhibition of boasted marine Knowledge, avoiding the Errors of the

the former Conduct generated the very Miscarriage of this ; and so it will for ever happen to Men, who fancy that by shunning the Mistakes of passed Management they shall succeed in the present ; whoever does not intuitively distinguish Right from Wrong in the Conduct of great Affairs, can never be successful by judging from Parallellarity ; because, as in these two Instances, tho' Ships, Seas, and the directing their Stations, may be the whole Concern in each ; yet the Similarity in these Objects creates no Reason, either to avoid Mistakes or pursue the Advantages of a prior Destination, where there is no resemblance of Circumstances in the Undertaking ; and no two can be sufficiently similar, or sufficiently unlike to justify a parallel or opposite Conduct, in any Director of them.

THE Duke *du Tallard*, as I have been informed by a Gentleman who thoroughly understands military Affairs, made the same Disposition at *Blenheim*, that the great *Gustavus Adolphus* had done at the famous Battle which he won against *Valstein* ; yet the *French* General was defeated, and the *English* triumphed. No Circumstances can be sufficiently alike to justify similar Proceedings in Men who are to direct ; Imitators want Force of Understanding to penetrate, pursue, and put in Action that which the original Contrivers had conceived in various ways in laying down their Plan. They are Mimicks of what was done, without comprehending the whole Force of what might have been done : Wherefore, in the Progress of an Action planned in Imitation of another, when the Circumstances vary from the former, not seeing the Reason of the Design, they are unequal to the supplying what the original Contriver would easily have afforded ; knowing no more than the Historian has delivered, they follow servilely like Copyists and are defeated. Had this marine M—r, in his Destinations of these naval Expeditions, judged from original Lights and Principles, he must certainly have imagined, that *Du Guay* would have avoided the beaten Track

Track in Times of Peace ; he would therefore have divided Mr. *Hawke's* Squadron into two equal Parts, which making nine in each Squadron, would have been still three to two, a proper and superior Force wherewith to oppose Monsieur *Du Guay* ; these, attended with smaller Ships to have been used as Scouts, by cruizing off Cape *Finisterre*, and in the other Station through which the *French* Squadron passed, there being but these two ways of steering their Courses, without great ill Luck, at least without blame to the Planner of the Cruize, must have intercepted the *French* Fleet in it's coming to *Brest*, and brought their Ships into *English* Harbours.

THIS however not being done, proves that the flying from Error on one side, drives weak Minds into an equal Mistake in the opposite Extreme, as young Spendthrifts frequently become old Misers.

NOR is it in Matters of great Moment only this Insufficiency of Conduct appears, the Sloop which carried the Field-Equipage belonging to the Officers of *Otway's* Regiment from *London* to *Plymouth*, because the Transports were sailed before she arrived at that Port, was obliged to wait for Orders to follow them.

THE Transports which the M——r had cunningly sent to bring the *Dutch* Troops over, before he knew they would come, like a Booby who seeks a Midwife before his Wife is with Child, after their fruitless and expensive Stay in *Holland*, sailed for the *Hessians*, when it was first discovered that no Orders from the Ad—— had been transmitted to justify the taking these Troops on Board. This Neglect created this expensive Delay, 'till a Letter could come from and return to that Part of *Europe* ; nay, even the H——ns, so very dear to this Nation, were permitted to sail hither without Convoy, so that two twenty gun Ships of *France*, might have carried them all into *Dunkirk* with great Facility.

THE Superintendency of our Islands in *America*, is not one iota less remarkably provident; Monsieur *D'Aubigny* is too strong for our Fleet at *Antigua* and the *Leeward Islands*, and Monsieur *Perrier de Salvert* is in the same Situation with Respect to our Fleet at *Jamaica*, notwithstanding that Admiral *Townshend*, with his whole Fleet of one Ship, is safely arrived at that Island.

IN like Manner, as the very ultimate of all sound Judgment had been displayed in the Distribution of the Cannon, Carriages, Powder, and Ball, separately on Board the Transports for *America*; so another Exhibition of equal good Sense appears in sending out the four Commanders to the *Mediterranean*; for as by the Sagacity of dividing the Stores, the Chance of defeating the Design was increased as four to one; so by confining all these four commanding Officers to one Ship, and not sending them separately, the Chance is increased in the same Proportion that the whole Design of their Voyage may be frustrated also. War has been already declared two Months, and no Ship is yet sent to give Notice of it in the *East-Indies*.

THE Judgments of our M——rs, like Pendulums, being eternally vibrating from one Extreme to another, passing through yet not resting in the Mean, what Hopes can ye entertain of reinstating the happy Situation from which ye are fallen. That which should have been blended they have divided, and that which shold have been separated they have united; and through the whole have proved themselves the very Antipodes to common Sense; few Men have been born with Talents and Abilities vastly superior to the rest of Mankind, yet many have been well adapted to the Knowlege and Conduct of little things, who have been incapable of comprehending the Effect and Beauty of what is great and sublime, like the Fly which admired the polish of a Mirror, and condemned the Architecture of *St. Paul's*; the merest Fribble

of a Virtuoso, insensible to the great Order of Nature, can trace with Delight and Skill the various and minute Shapes, Shades, and Colours, in a Shell or Flower, which distinguish one from another, but there appears in the Ad——n of the present M——r in maritime Affairs, an equal Incapacity for the Conduct of great and little Matters ; the same Head which has so egregiously erred in the Destination and Appointment of larger Fleets, has in like manner been insufficient to the minutest Duty of his Office ; one Instance of the former more conspicuously flagrant than the rest, now comes to be laid before you.

SINCE the Beginning of last *January*, every News-Paper has been replete with the great military Preparations which were making at *Toulon*, the Number of Ships equipping and Soldiers marching towards that Port, *Marseilles*, and Places adjacent. The Object for which these Forces were destined was as constantly mentioned ; this Subject was the common Conversation of all Ranks of Men, from the Artisan to the Peer, and all except the M——rs believed that *Minorca* would speedily be attacked.

I DON'T mention Accounts contained in News-Papers, as authentick Relations which may warrant the m——l Attention, but to ask, that as at this Time they have proved literally true, by what Means it could come to pass, that those whose immediate Duty it is to be informed of all Transactions of such a Nature amongst our Enemies, should be the only Persons unacquainted with them, or why they alone disbelieved the Intelligence, which gained Credit amongst all Mankind besides ?

IF the Nature of this military Preparation would have permitted a Concealment of it, much might have been said in Vindication of M——rs who gave no Credit to the Account ; but since Thousands saw and declared it to all the Nations upon Earth, Why were the M——rs diffident of, or unacquainted with it : An Instance unexampled in any Ad——n but their

their own ; the Number of *Macnamara's* Fleet had before been equally unknown or disbelieved ; this then is the second Instance of fatal Ignorance, defective Intelligence, or arrogant Disbelief of the Force of our Enemies.

By whatever Arguments the M——rs might be seduced to discredit this military Preparation at *Toulon*, the very Probability of *Minorca's* being attacked, and the essential Importance which it is of to the B——h Commerce, ought to have created a Jealousy in them, that the *French* would not long overlook so important an Object, unattended to and neglected, as it was by them : These Considerations alone, without giving Credit to what was transacting at *Toulon*, made it their Duty indispensably to have placed *Minorca* in Security from all *French* Invasion.

BESIDES these Reasons, there was yet another Motive to the strengthening that Island from Hostilities, and to the believing it threatened with an Invasion, the repeated Requests for Succours from the brave Commander of the Castle of *St. Philip*. This Gallant Man, after reiterated Letters to the M——rs, at length wrote to this Purpose to his nearest Relation ;

“ I have often requested Succours from the M——r,

“ I have been as often promised to receive them, and

“ as constantly disappointed in the Promise ; this

“ then, will, I imagine, terminate in my falling a

“ Sacrifice to their Neglect ; however, tho' it should

“ shorten my Days a Year or two, it will the sooner

“ put you in Possession of what I shall leave you,

“ and in which I wish you happy.”

NOTWITHSTANDING the Consequence of that Island to this Kingdom, what had been published by the Publick, written by the Governor, and believed by all Mankind, no Attention was paid to the Protection of it : No Land Forces sent, though the Number within the Fortress was known to be unequal to the Duty and Defence of it against a Siege ; and whereas in the Year Seventeen Hundred and Forty-

four Admiral *Mathews*, with a Fleet of Forty-eight Sail, nine of which were three decked Ships, was employed in the *Mediterranean*; now Commodore *Edgecombe* with three Ships and two Frigates only, was thought a sufficient Protection for the *Mediterranean Trade*, and *Island of Minorca*.

WHATEVER were the Reasons no Attention was paid to this important Possession. Whilst all *Europe* beheld this Neglect with Amazement, and every true *English Heart* trembled for the Wound which he saw must be inflicted on his Country. Our M—rs were honourably engaged in laying Wagers there was no Fleet nor Sailors to man a Fleet at *Toulon*; that if there should be any it was not designed against *Mahon*; and treating with Derision the Apprehensions of all who foresaw the Event, and whose Love for their Country would not permit them to be at Ease; whilst the Honour of the Crown and the Interest of the Kingdom were open to Insult and Diminution by this sinister Neglect, and the *French* attacking *Minorca*.

DURING this Time, our Royal Navy, full manned and prepared for the Seas, was riding triumphantly at *Spithead*, and the Head of the Ad—y paid as an Ad—l, absent on Leave, at the Rate of a thousand a Year, as if all that had been done in Honours and Profits, had been hitherto inadequate to his Merit: Glorious Picture of Wisdom in your M—rs, illustrious Anecdote of their prudent Ad—n, for their Sons to read hereafter and curse their Sires; but happily, Providence, in Commiseration to this People, has denied that Blessing to the most conspicuous of them, kindly refusing to their Wishes that Progeny, which, treading in their Fathers Footsteps, must still be baneful to this Isle.

AT length, after four Months passed in m—l Inattention, and in Wonder by gazing Multitudes, Mr. *Byng* set sail on the fifth of *April* from *Spithead*, with ten Ships of the Line for the *Mediterranean*.

DURING

DURING these Months of Inattention and Neglect, *La Galassoniere*, with twelve Ships of the Line and five Frigates, with Transports sufficient to carry fifteen Thousand Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, for a Siege, commanded by the *Duc de Richelieu*, were gotten ready and sailed from *Toulon*; and on the Eighteenth of *April* landed in the Island of *Minorca*, eight Days after our Fleet weighed Anchor from *Spithead*, and almost six Weeks before they arrived near *Mabon*. The Confirmation of the French Descent on *Minorca*, was the first Intelligence which demonstrated the Truth of what all Men believed except the M—rs, and of what they had neglected in not sending Succours to *Mabon*.

PERNICOUS as this Delay of sending Succours now appeared to every Eye, it was not yet irremediable; though the Troops were debarked, the Citadel was not yet taken, and the avowed Bravery of the Commander justified the Belief, that no shameful Surrender of the Fortress would stain the last Moments of his Life. Notwithstanding which, it was confidently asserted by the M—rs and their hireling Spouters, that *La Galassoniere*'s Fleet consisted only of eight Ships of the Line, and that Mr. *Byng* would blow them out of the Water.

HERE was an Opportunity to be envied of retrieving all the Reputation which had been forfeited by the first Neglect, in not sending a sufficient Force to oppose the Enemy's Descent on *Minorca*.

MEN of Genius, though hitherto deluded or mistaken, would have improved this Oversight into an Advantage, and by reinforcing the Squadron under Mr. *B—g*, with a Number of Ships equal to that with which he set Sail, would have defeated the French Fleet and starved their Troops in *Minorca*: By preventing military Stores, they would have saved *St. Philip's*, and by preventing the Arrival of Provision,

have obliged the whole Army to have surrendered Prisoners of War.

How capable then was the first Neglect of being converted to the Glory of the King and Kingdom; but alas! They knew not the Strength of that very Citadel, which was to be besieged; and the Moment they received the Intelligence of the *French* being landed, desponding, they concluded it was taken; otherwise the first Inattention might have been metamorphosed from Incapacity to Wisdom, from Disgrace to Honour, from Loss to Advantage, from Censure to Applause. All the States of *Europe* would have believed the first Behaviour, as designed to obtain the second Advantage; and converting an egregious Imbecility into a refined Stratagem conceived highly of that Policy, which is now universally despised and exploded. But, alas! the same Saturnine Planet rules our Masters alike arbitrarily, at all Hours and on all Occasions; their Genius tending eternally to the Center, like a Stone thrown into a Cavern tells you by every Stroke, that it sinks nearer to the Abyss of Waters, in which it flounces at last and is no more heard of.

THE Error which had been committed in not sending Succours at first, improved by sending an insufficient Force under Mr. *Byng*, was still continued by neglecting to send a Reinforcement, which would probably have joined him before he reached *Gibraltar*; at least a Ship might have carried Intelligence to *Corunna*; and as the Winds were adverse for the Squadron, a Courier would have reached *Gibraltar* before the Fleet, and detained it till he was joined by a further Force.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, Mr. *Byng* was suffered to proceed with ten Ships of the Line, and the Chance of meeting Mr. *Edgecumbe*, thirteen in all against twelve *French* Sail of equal Force to relieve *Minorca*; whilst Mr. *Osborne*, with fifteen sail of the Line remained

mained at Spithead, and ten in the Harbour of Portsmouth.

At length, after long Delays from adverse Winds, Mr. *B—g* arrives on the twentieth of *May* within Sight of *Minorca* and the Enemy's Fleet; imagine then, what must be the Joy which fired the Heart of the old Gallant *Blakeney* at the Sight of the *B—b* Fleet; warmed with all the Spirit of a true Subject, he now cherished the fond Hopes of obtaining Glory to himself, Honour to his Master, and Interest to his Country; by this Succour which he saw, in defeating the Enemy's Fleet, and rendering all the *French* Schemes abortive, such, probably, was the pleasing Entertainment of his Mind, when the *B—b* Flag appeared in Sight.

But, alas! Mr. *B—g*, after having attacked the *French* Squadron, with not a Man killed or wounded on board his own and many other Ships; with but Forty-eight killed, and One Hundred Sixty-eight wounded in the whole Squadron, retires unattempting to relieve the Garrison of *Mahon*, because the *Intrepid* had her Fore-Top-Mast shot away, and leaves the brave General and his Companions cooped within the Garrison of *St. Philip's*, quite destitute of all Hopes of Relief.

JUDGE then, what was the Horror of this brave Man's Mind, when he first knew the Behaviour of our Fleet, and saw all his Expectations of Relief and Honour reduced to Air; deserted in this Manner by the *B—b* Navy, he was yet sustained by himself; his Heart felt the Behaviour of Mr. *B—g* with more Anguish than the Necessity of being obliged to capitulate; he defended the Citadel to the last, and then gave it up reluctantly to your Enemies. If ye have yet the Faculties of human Nature, weep over the severe Fate of that brave Man, and the Sacrifice of your neglected Fellow-Countrymen! Pay that Tribute to the Remembrance of their Bravery, though ye are

denied Arms to revenge their Loss. Then call to Mind by whose Conduct they have perished.

RESOLVE me then, those who daily suck the vital Blood of *E-d*, and vociferate in Defence of m—l Conduct; whence did it spring, that the Number of the Enemy's Fleet, which in the Beginning was known to all, was still unknown to the M—s? Why a superior Force was not sent to destroy them? And why, when *French* Forces were landed at *Minorca*, and the Number of the Squadron acknowledged to be twelve, that a Reinforcement was not immediately sent after Mr. *Byng*, yet to frustrate the *French* Attempts, destroy the Fleet, and starve or take Prisoners Marshal *Riche-lier* and his whole Army? Tell me, ye who are hired or share in the spoiling your Country for such Purposes? Tell me, —— or is this Behaviour so heinous, that even ye are dumb, and ashamed to vindicate your m—l Masters?

How then are those opposite Manners of m—l Proceeding with Respect to *Germany* and *Minorca*, reconcileable with the Interest of *G-t-B-n*, and the Duty of a *B-fb* M—r? Why was *H-r*, fortified and secured by Treaties, with *Russians*, *Prus-sians*, *Hessians*, and *Holsteiners*, purchased by Profusion of *E-fb* Treasure? *H-r*, which has already proved so fatal in exhausting the Riches of *E-d*; and *Minorca*, though not the Source of your Wealth, the Protection of it when drawn from other Fountains, totally disregarded? What Reason can be assigned for this inverted Behaviour, but that having lavished Millions in Consequence of those Treaties, and the Safeguard of *German* Dominions, there remained not Supplies sufficient to protect *Minorca*? This, though the most profligate, would have been some Excuse; but these Men are yet more unnatural and abandoned; they have fattened a spurious Race with your Heritage, and starved their legitimate Offspring; whilst (from Authority it is pronounced) your

your annual party Supplies were vigorous and effectual.

Have they then thus disrespectfully treated you, that the Sources of your Wealth from Commerce, being diminished by the Loss of *Mabon*, your declining State may sooner introduce Poverty, with Dejection her Companion, and adapt your Souls to the wearing with Tranquillity, those Chains which the m—l Possopolite is forging for you? Or, that your Protection being destroyed against the *Barbary* Corsairs, your honest Sailors may fall a Prey to that remorseless Crew, and learning there, teach at their Return, that being yet one Degree above the Slaves of *Barbary*, ye have not equal Right to deplore your Fate, and thus soothe ye to Contentment?

FATAL as this may prove to this once happy Country, culpable as the Ad—l may appear in the Eyes of all Europe, disgraceful as it is to the B—s Arms, and dishonourable to the Crown of these Realms: Are not those who delayed the Succours at first, those who left that Neglect unremedied by sending an insufficient Force, and even providing against that second Error by a Reinforcement yet infinitely more the Objects of your Resentment? Speaking like Men not blinded with the reigning Maladies of Arrogance and Self-sufficiency, but from the Experience of former Times, what Expectations could be reasonably entertained, that ten E—s Ships of inferior Force, or even when joined by Mr. Edgecumbe's Squadron, that equal Powers would have had more than equal Chance of Victory; or that the Event would prove less favourable to the Enemy than the English; such Imaginations in Favour of their Countrymen may be laudable, and of Service in the common Sailor and common Soldier; but in the Man who is to appoint Fleets and Commanders, foolish, culpable, and destructive.

-Let it be imagined, however, that the *B*-*is* Fleet with this Equality of Force could have conquered the

French; was it reasonable to believe the Victory would have been so cheaply purchased, and our Ships so little damaged by the Engagement, as to keep the Seas and relieve *Minorca*? As it probably would not, and as both Fleets were equally excluded from the Harbour of *Mahon*, would not a Conquest over the *French* Squadron have been even then attended with the Loss of the Citadel and Island? To what Realm could the *E—sh* Fleet have steered to find Materials to repair the Injuries of the Battle? Would *Spain* have supplied them with naval Stores, and indulged them to refit in *Cartagena*? No Man the least acquainted with the present Dispositions of that Court believes they would; probably then, considering the present State of *Lisbon*, *Plymouth* is the first hospitable Harbour that could have afforded them Assistance.

If a Victory then, of such a Nature as the above, would have prevented the Fleet of *E—d* from keeping the Seas and succouring *Minorca*, how much less likely is it, that effectual Relief would have been the Consequence of a drawn Battle or a Defeat on our Side? Does it not appear then too evident, that no Success, which good Sense has a Right to expect with such Parity of Force, could have relieved the Citadel of *St. Philip*, or justified the Ministers in sending out so small a Squadron for the Defence of so important an Object?

WHATEVER then may prove the Event of this Engagement to the Admiral, let not the Depravity of his Behaviour seduce your Attention from those who sent him so unequal to the Undertaking. If after a candid and deliberate Examination, it shall appear that he has been egregiously remiss in his Duty to his King and Country at the Hour of Battle; consider how much more those are delinquent, who delayed the Expedition and sent him at last with insufficient Force. There are Men, when superior to their Enemies, who wear the Outside of Gallantry and succeed,

who

who perhaps when on equal Terms, from confessing some inward Sensations of Danger, may retire and miscarry; if it was his Duty to have risked every Thing in Preservation of *Mabon*, was it less obligatory on them, by a superior Fleet, to have prevented all probable Presumption of Miscarriage? After all, if Mr. *B—g*'s Spirit proved in the Experiment inferior to that of the Enemy, was not the Armatment which the M—r gave him to command, inferior to that of the *French* also? On what Account was the *B—b* Fleet obliged to risque the Loss of Victory and *Minorca*, by engaging on equal Terms, when by being double that Number, it might have preserved the Island, and triumphed over your Adversaries? Whence does it arise then, that if the marine M—r is by Nature and Capacity adapted to the Duty of his high Office, that a Man so obviously unequal to the Task was selected to command the Fleet of *E—d*, and a Fleet so inferior to the Duty sent to protect *Mabon*?

WHATEVER Delinquency may then be imagined to have been committed on this Account, are not the M—rs still more criminal? The bravest Man on Earth, by exerting every superior Faculty of the human Mind, destined and appointed to command a Fleet of that Force, might only more conspicuously have manifested the Insufficiency of the m—l Provision and Judgment, in the conducting this Affair; and proved, that though Victory should have crowned his Arms, that the shattered Condition of his Ships would have rendered it impossible to preserve *Mabon*; whereas the M—rs had it in their Power, by augmenting the Force of the Fleet, not only to have prevented Disgrace, but to have commanded Success, saved *Minorca*, defeated their Enemies, and crowned themselves, the Ad—l, their King and Country with immortal Honour.

YET if you ask why more Ships were not dispatch'd to the Succour of *Minorca*, they answer, no more were

were manned ready for the Seas ; was it then through want of Power or pecuniary Supplies that this Deficiency arose ? Not from the first, because that they exert in a more despotic Manner than is known in the most arbitrary States of Europe, in impressing Seamen ; not from the second, because no Opposition in P—t has delayed one Moment the levying what Money the M—r pleased : If to this they shall add, that the Kingdom cannot furnish Sailors to man the Fleet with more Expedition, and that a large Number of Men of War are necessary for Channel Service, and to prevent Invasions on this Island, and therefore a greater Force could not be sent to the *Mediterranean* ; ask how it was done the last War ? And why, in the P—t of One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-five, when all this that has followed, and much more was apprehended, a Militia Bill was neglected to be passed ? This would have permitted the M—r to have destined your Fleet to useful Enterprises, and cleared Spithead from flying Pendants, and the useless Parade of a large Navy without Application or advantage. This would have saved you Millions of Money, and secured your Shores from every hostile Attack, more effectually than all the Ships built since the Ark, or Argo which set sail with Admiral Jason to fetch the golden Fleece from Calabria.

If then the Souls of our M—rs are in Union with their Country's Good, why did they delay and reject this necessary Duty to their King and their Fellow-Subjects ?

LET them the Word *Militia* be eternally halloo'd in their Ears ; may their Imaginations awake and sleeping be haunted with this terrifying Neglect ; may this Idea be ever present to their Minds, the Ghost of that Blessing which they strangled, 'till alarmed by Dread and Guilt they repent and arm this defenceless Land.

To what Region is now fled all that Panegyrick, which was so loudly sounded through the Kingdom, of Dispatch, Diligence, and Capacity, in the m—r ?

M——r? Why were those Ships so expeditiously equipped, so ineffectually destined and applied? What Injury has this Hurry and Expence brought on your Enemies, or what Advantage to this Nation, unless the private Gains of a few Thousands, and the infamous Appellation of Thieves and Pyrates from your Enemies, unanswered by your M——rs, are conceived an adequate Recompence for the national Expence of Millions, and the Loss of Character through all the Realms of Europe? *and truly blotted out*

THE baseless Fabrick of his Temple of Fame then is vanished; the deserted Proprietor of that short lived Glare of Reputation is now sunk into rayless Obscurity, like the Bliss of some poor Cottager, who from his Dream of Millions wakes amidst the Pangs of Penury; happy for this Isle, could the fatal Effects of his Male-administration vanish with the unmerited Reputation of the Author.

EGREGIOUSLY delinquent as the M——rs have proved themselves in this Neglect of *Minorca*; with what accumulated Guilt ought they to be viewed, when the Recapitulation of their whole Conduct comes to be considered by you.

If those who have lost *Mabon*, and permitted your gallant Countrymen in hopeless Defence to fall the guiltless Sacrifices of their Neglect; the unavailing yet august Victims of their own and Country's Honour; Objects worthy of your Admiration and Affliction; the eternal Stigma of an unnatural Ad——n, have ruined your Trade in the *Mediterranean*, subjected your Sailors to the Captures and Slavery of *Barbary* Pyrates, by this one Misconduct; what will be the whole Event of the Aggregate of their Imbecility, when by wrong Choice of Commanders in *America*, and Inattention to that valuable Part of *B——b* Possessions many Provinces are left open to hostile Inroad. May not the *French*, who have been some Time sending Troops to the *Mississippi*, this Summer become Masters of *Georgia* and *Carolina*, so defenceless and open;

open; or perhaps some Province more lucrative and better adapted to the Necessities of *France*.

WHAT have you to expect from your boasted naval Bulwark, if the same Men continue to direct it, who have already lavished in ineffectual Destination and insufficient Force so many Millions? Have the *French* Expeditions been rendered abortive in one Instance? Have the Captures of their Ships of War exceeded three, equal to our Loss only?

In like Manner, behold what have been the fatal Consequences of their Transactions in *Europe*; Treasuries, ruinous to *England*, partial to *Holland*, and yet destructive to the Welfare of that State; Desertion of old Allies and more potent Friendships, for Connexions with weaker and more needy Powers; Profusion of publick Money to hireling Mercenaries, national Degradation and Contempt in foreign Eyes, Imputation of Disloyalty or Cowardice on yourselves, whilst you are denied the Use of Arms to defend yourselves, your Wives, and Daughters from open Enemies, and the sacrilegious Hands of venal Foreigners, nurtured by your own Money, brought on pretended Terms of Hospitality, if they should dare to treat you with Insolence.

In the mean Time, your Fellow-Subjects seduced into the Army by Promises of being listed for three Years, and to defend their Country only, are kidnapped and forced on board Ship by Compulsion, treated and transported like Slaves God knows where; to return, God knows when*.

* PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Extract of a Letter from Plymouth, dated May 21.

Yesterday Morning Colonel Campbell's new-raised Regiment was reviewed in the Field, and ordered to appear at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon on the Dock, without Arms; which they accordingly did, and without much Difficulty, marched into the Dock-Yard, followed to the Gates by the Garrison, with their Bayonets fixed and Muskets loaded, to keep Guard while they were again

reviewed

Is it not possible then, that by continuing to increase the Number of insolent Foreigners, and sending out the native Troops, that at length a standing Army of the former, may become too formidable to be opposed by the People of *G—t-B—n*, disarmed as ye are? Or even by the Military thus daily decreasing by Transportation to distant Parts of the World, if at length they should resent the want of Confidence which is manifested by thus relying on *H—ns* and *H—ns*, in Preference to that loyal Body of Men. Who then can wonder, if from one continued Series of Mistakes, and flagrant Manifestations of m—l Incapacity, the *Swedes* should snatch this golden Opportunity of repossessing *Bremen* and *Verden*, the *Austrians* *Silesia*, the *Spaniards* *Gibraltar*, and the *French*, after having secured *Minorca* to themselves, invade the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, to close the whole, ransack this very Island of *G—t-B—n*.

HAVE not the Treaty with *Prussia*, and desertion of *Austrian* Interest, laid a probable Foundation for the *Swedes* and *Germans* to accomplish the two former? Will not the suffering *Mabon* to be taken and yielding up that Harbour to the *French*, encourage the *Spaniard*, to attempt the third? And *France* having no farther Object for her Fleet in the *Mediterranean*, unite and employ all her Force in perpetrating the fourth.

WILL then the actual Possession of some, and nearer Prospect of subduing all these Places, permit the m—l Gang to raise the Supplies for the ensuing Year? Will those who have assisted the M—y, through the lucrative View of private Interest, lend them their Money when the Danger of losing all ex-

reviewed by General *Hume*, the Colonel, and Admiral *Mahon*; after which the Companies were divided, and a Signal-Gun being fired from the Admiral's Ship, for all the Boats to attend, they were immediately embarked without any Disturbance, except heavy Complaints at their being sent abroad contrary to the Terms of the Advertisement, and the Promises made them at the Time of their enlisting.

ceeds

ceeds the Possibility of the Profit? Then will it not too evidently appear, when ~~when~~ Bankruptcy, Distress, and Anarchy are let loose; that the unlimited Profusion of ~~English~~ Gold for German Interest, has at length brought that Inundation of Evils, so long predicted, on this deplorable Country.

Who then are Friends, and who your Foes? What are those Men who dare to impute Disloyalty to Subjects, whose Words and Actions would have contributed to save this sinking State, if their Counsel had been followed? Shall the tracing a *Scotch* Renegado Jesuit through all his doubling Lies and Fallacies, to prevent future Imposition on a few, by the Discovery, be (as it ought) deemed a laudable and honest Pursuit; and yet the unravelling the Mischiefs which ~~Men~~rs have brought on a whole Nation, and attempting to rescue it from their impious Hands, be blasted with the Appellation of a Libel? Be not, like individual Atoms, playing in the Sun-Beams, detached from one another, whirl'd to and fro, as the Breath of ~~men~~l Conduct blows amongst ye; let the general Good, like the general Attraction, hold ye firm, to what ye owe yourselves and Country; otherwise, to what Purpose do ye curse the Ad—l, that forsook the Cause of his King and Country, and praise the Gallant *Blakeney* who never deserted his Trust? Why do ye importunately ask, Will the *Spaniards* join the *French* to attack *Gibraltar*? Will the *French* invade this Kingdom? Alas! neither Imprecation nor Panegyric, the taking or Defence of *Gibraltar*, or even the coming of the *French*, can bring a greater though a more sudden Evil on your Condition; nothing can long relieve or save this Nation, if the same Rulers in the Cabinet continue to preside, ye need no foreign Enemy to make ye Slaves. Can ye conceive that the same Men who have brought Ruin on your Affairs, have either Inclination or Abilities to reinstate them in their former happy Situation? inquisitive but Senseless of your Fate, your Souls seem to have lost all those

those virtuous and quick Sensations, which have hitherto been the inseparable Companions of a free State.

To what Purpose then, when all Remedies must come too late, will this predicted Ruin be believed by you? What will then avail that Anguish, when you curse your Destroyers and your own Inattention? perhaps accompanied with this imbittering Reflexion, that those whom ye assisted to ruin you, have bound your Hands in Chains, and are become the arbitrary Masters of the Kingdom. Unless then ye suddenly awake from this Trance into which ye are fallen, your foreign or domestic Enemies will prevent ye, and then ye must sleep the Sleep of Death, *England is no more!*

HOWEVER destructive therefore this Action of Mr. B—g may appear on Enquiry, remember, before it be too late, once more I charge you, to examine whether the orginal Authors of that Evil, are not infinitely more criminal? If it shall be found, that his Conduct has in one Instance entailed Disgrace on this Kingdom, let it be seen whether the M——ts have not by numberless and repeated Acts, almost overwhelmed the Land with Infamy; nay, though he should be condemned for want of Courage, will it not be just to enquire whether, if those Men have with unwearied Diligence depreciated every Virtue, and sapped every honourable Motive of the human Soul, given Power and Honours to Riches only, and neglected all Degrees of Merit; this very Imputation of want of Resolution, may not equitably be ascribed to them also?

Is it then a Wonder, that Men in all Ranks, corrupted in Head and Heart, should be unequal to the Tasks which Honour only can inspire and Virtue accomplish? Remember then, if Mr. B—g be doomed to Punishment, to which it is not improbable he may, as a Scape-Goat offered to your Resentment for the Salvation of the M——s, that this can avail nothing in your Favour; will not the same Deficiency of Judgment still operate in the Choice of Commanders and

Destination

Destination of Expeditions, whilst the Direction remains in the same Hands? What Expectation have ye by his Removal, that your national Affairs will wear a better Face, or raise the fallen Condition of this sinking Land.

Will it not then be strictly equitable, that the same Voice which calls Mr. B—g to a candid Examination of his Conduct, should summon also those who have so long and so fatally superintended the Direction of national Affairs to an impartial Enquiry, that ye be ascertained why the Territories of *England* on the *Ohio* were shamefully conceded to the *French*; to whom and to what Purposes your Millions have been lavished, whether to the Ruin or Advantage of this Island; on what Account *Mabon* and *America* were neglected, and *H—r* preferred to all; and from what Cause it happens, that six Millions and a half in the last Year of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, could suffice for the Interest of fifty Millions and the Support of a vigorous War; that now twelve Millions, when the annual Expence of the Debt by the diminished Interest of Money exceeds not what it was at that Time, are not equal to the annual Extravagance of the M—rs, or productive of one Victory.

In her Reign, though your Treasures were exhausted, and your Fellow-Subjects slaughtered for *German* Interests, ye sustained the flattering Character of a brave and honest People amongst the Nations, and were by the superb Victories which your General obtained, honoured and revered; but under the Direction of these inauspicious M—rs, ye live without Renown, and die without Victory, stigmatized with the infamous Brand of Thieves and Pyrates, by that Nation which then dared not to look ye in the Face: Shameful Alternative!

NOTWITHSTANDING this, if before a just Tribunal the Transactions of the M—rs shall be found both honourable and upright, and the approaching Fate of *B—g* owing to those irresistible Causes, by which

which all Nations perish, and to which they are not accessary ; they will then like Souls passed through Purgatory to Paradise, rise from Calumny to Approbation, from Hatred to Esteem, from Pain to Pleasure ; what then can be more acceptable to Men of Integrity, than such an Enquiry ? But if through the Evidence of Truth, they shall stand convicted of Male-administration, let no Malevolence presume to draw Comparisons between the Conduct of passed M—rs who have suffered, and the present who have not, or attempt increasing the Heinousness of their Actions, by truly stating those of the Sufferers : For the sake of these who are yet alive, I wish you never to recal the Decapitation of Lord Strafford, or compare his and their Conduct ; Revenge is criminal, it is unworthy a *Briton* ; if the Love of your Country must make ye feel the Passions to which human Nature is subjected, remember, though ye are Men that ye are Christians also ; and, notwithstanding the Ruin of this Land is well nigh compleated, implore your S—n to afford those Enemies to his Realm that Mercy which they have ever denied his innocent People ; and when he shall graciously preserve them from condign Punishment, that he will mercifully cast an Eye of Pity also on Millions of his faithful Subjects, and save them from Perdition, by at once removing from his Presence, the Spoilers of the Dignity of his Crown, and Liberties of his Subjects ; keep then your Eyes and Attention steadily on your Prince, from him expect Relief, there remains yet one Method by which ye may all be saved.

E THE

THE
M O N I T O R,
British Freeholder.

N U M B E R E I I.

Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.
 ISAIAH, chap. lviii. ver. 1.

S A T U R D A Y, July the 31st, 1756.

To the MONITOR.

S I R,

IN the midst of the general mourning of these kingdoms for the losses already felt, and for what must infallibly follow, unless timely prevented by an alteration of measures, I am amazed to find no sorrow, no uneasiness, no repinings, no fore-bodings, no yearnings for the public safety, amongst those, who recommend, appoint, and direct the Officers and operations, by whose misconduct and pusillanimity, I hope, not treachery, (Minorca,) the security of our Levant trade, is lost to our rival in commerce: and our most valuable possessions in America, without which neither our fleets could be mann'd, nor our manufacturers can be employed, have severely groan'd under the enemy's sword, and, if not promised to be yielded up, are in a manner abandoned, and almost ruined by the dilatory measures of those, who are entrusted with the means

means raised in these dominions for their protection? And I even dread the effects of that indifference with which the advices of our late misfortunes have been treated by some of the m——y.

WHERE's their judgment and wisdom, if they were ignorant of the usefulness and necessity of a British settlement in the Mediterranean to protect our merchantmen, to annoy our enemies, to give weight to our councils, and to maintain an interest with the princes of Italy and the Ottoman Empire? or where's their honesty, if Mahon has been sacrificed to any private interest, or in consequence of a private article of some treaty not yet made known?

HAD the m——y been ignorant of the enemy's intention, some allowance might have been made for deception: but the French, contrary to their accustomed secrecy, proclaimed their resolution to invade Minorca, some months before any provision was pretended to be made to resist them. Had the m——y been cramp'd for money for such a service, it could not have been expected from them: but the parliament had supplied the Exchequer with a sum that exceeded the greatest in any one year when England beat the enemy out of the seas, took Gibraltar and Minorca, and threaten'd to carry their arms to the walls of Paris. Had the parliament plann'd their operations, or interfered in the stationing of the fleets, marching their forces and granting commissions; who could have blamed the m——y for sending so late, and such a weak squadron and reinforcement to Mahon, under the command of men, who had never given proofs of their conduct and courage, in preference to officers of experience, courage, and fidelity? who could have blamed them for keeping forty thousand seamen in pay, cooped up in our harbours at home, to give the officers an opportunity to display their effeminate capacities in balls and masquerades? or for consuming the treasure of the nation in the importation of foreign forces from Hesse and Hanover;

in an extraordinary augmentation of our national troops ; in the extravagant parade of encampments, and trains of artillery ? or in the new method of settling exorbitant pensions on their fellow-labourers in the works, which make a national and speedy enquiry, into the causes of our present disgrace and misery, absolutely necessary, to prevent a total annihilation of the British name ?

BUT should it turn out, upon the most impartial examination into their conduct, that the great officers of state are the only men who have been intrusted with all our money, and invested with all the power to defend our King and his British dominions, where-ever situate ; that they have not made use of those means put into their hands by the nation, to answer the necessary purposes for which they were given ; but have permitted the enemy to surprize our territories, our property, and our strong holds for want of relief, or a sufficient strength by sea or land ; and that they have trifled away both their time and our money when they met in consultation ;

Not for the sickly patient's sake ;
Nor what to give, but what to take.

IF it should appear, that instead of uniting in the first principle of British government, which is to secure the liberty and property of the nation ; they agree only to keep in power by sacrificing every thing to their ambition and avarice : that they have endeavoured to lay a restraint upon the King, by sowing jealousies and misrepresentations in the royal mind, in order to deprive him of the council of his most faithful nobles and gentry, and to compel him to acquiesce in, and authorize the most unconstitutional measures : and that they under fictitious reports of an invasion, have not only abandoned our colonies and fortresses to destruction, but have formed a design to render their m——y absolute, and to change the government into an oligarchy by the aid of a powerful standing

standing army of natives, Hessians, and Hanoverians ; it would become every true Briton to take such measures, as the constitution of the nation might enable him, in his proper station, to prevent the fatal consequences of their corruption and aspirings, and to bring them to a true sense of their crimes.

Is Minorca torn from the British crown by a nation that dares not meet us on the ocean, and in sight of a British squadron, either not provided, or not instructed, to maintain the dominion of the seas : and shall they, to whose management this service properly belonged, escape their deserts ? we have laugh off, and almost forgotten the dire catastrophe of the Bestimentos, Mediterranean, and of Cartagena under Hosier, Mathews, and Vernon : but shall we forget Mahon as soon ; if we do, *other nations* will not. We shall ever be, what we now are, the reproach and contempt of every nation in Europe, unless we bring the authors and perpetrators of this treachery, cowardice, or pusillanimity, to justice. To be silent and tamely permit the British lion to be chained by his keepers, while the leopard is pulling him limb from limb, is as little becoming the sons of liberty and honour, as to submit to arbitrary power.

IF we cast our eyes towards America, can we discern any better prospect of m——l conduct ? was not the importance of those valuable colonies made the immediate argument to engage our representatives to grant eight millions of money this last session, to protect them and support our rights to the possessions and trade of North America ? and shall they, who were intrusted with that immense sum for those particular purposes, not be called to an account for leaving them exposed to the enemy ? not to espouse their cause and revenge their sufferings would have been such a reflection upon our glory, as time could ne'er efface ; and perhaps the neglect of a vigorous and timely exertion of the power committed to the m——y for that ser-

vice, may be so heavy a blow upon our naval and mercantile interest, as millions may not be able to repair.

How have death and destruction; unexampled barbarities and horrid devastations stagnated trade, penetrated into some of our finest plantations, and are ready to cut them off from the interest of their mother country? while that money has been applied to hire an army of Russians, another of Hessians, a third of Hanoverians, and another of Wolfenbuttleans: to pay a large subsidy to keep the King of Prussia in temper, for fear his maritime forces, when joined to the enemy's, should prove too powerful for us; and to pay a standing army in Britain: to maintain an inactive fleet; and shamefully to increase the number of pensioners to the state. And was it ever known that a nation thus deceived; thus misguided and brought to the brink of ruin; whose liberty was endangered; whose debts were more than she was able to pay; whose monarch was controuled by his servants, and whose subjects were driven before the sword of the enemy to perish in woods or deserts, and dismayed at the horrid spectacle of their children slain and scalped, and themselves at last expiring in the flames of their own houses; could remain insensible of its grievances, or afraid to complain and pursue the author of its misfortune? or can Britons at the time France is lighting up her forges of death, and collecting together such a quantity of materials and engines, as if she intended to make an universal sacrifice of mankind, remain inactive spectators, and improvident stewards of the public money?

If upon examination it should be discovered, that there are any at the helm so lost to the love of their country, as to create a suspicion of their acting in concert with her enemies; or so estranged to glory as to be the infamous instruments of executing any private measures and stipulations to the disgrace and hurt of the nation, cry aloud and spare not!

CAN a people, who boast of freedom, and their right to enquire into the actions of their governors, calmly

ly pass over and submit to the iniquitous imposition of a m——y, should their measures threaten them with slavery? or shall they, who, descended from a race of heroes and soldiers, have, in defence of themselves, and of their friends, shed their blood and bore away the palm of victory in every kingdom of the known world, and made the most powerful enemy tremble at that arm, which liberty had strengthened, be afraid, to appear in their country's cause, or be supposed unable to bring corruption and treachery, however disguised and guarded with foreign troops, to light and punishment? and, if we do not lay hold of the present time to exert that liberty, which is our birth-right, let not posterity wonder to see this monarchy once more usurped by a council of state, and the freeborn subjects reduced to the state of Turkish or Gallic slaves.

It is not a mere jealousy, but the evident mis-rule of our M——y which alarms the nation. It is not disaffection, but the love of our constitution, King, and country, that prompts us to appear in opposition to bad measures, and to seek after those bad men, who have not applied our money nor our forces, for the glory of the crown and protection of our countries and commerce. And the method of seeking redress under these circumstances, and to convince his Majesty of your loyalty and resolution to remove away the wicked from his councils, and to revenge the indignities and losses he has, and may otherwise sustain, during this prorogation of parliament (which perhaps might be a scheme of the delinquents to prevent our immediate petitioning that august assembly against their proceedings) is to recommend it earnestly to the *Grand-Juries* at approaching assizes in every part of the nation, to consider the importance of enquiring into the grievances and miscarriages with which our very being, as a nation is threatened. Let every corporation, borough, and county, lay aside all party animosity, and unite

for the common safety in their addresses to the throne, and their instructions to their representatives in parliament, to inform his Majesty of their impending danger, brought upon these dominions by those, who have run us into a debt, whose interest alone must keep us for ever loaded with taxes grievous to be borne: who have by their pusillanimity and misconduct exposed us to the most powerful of all our enemies, without securing a single Ally of any consequence in our present circumstances, and not one without hire: who have exposed Great Britain to the contempt of our neighbours, by rejecting a bill for a general militia; which would have at once released us from the unnecessary expence and hazardous practice of importing foreign troops, and deterred our enemies from all thoughts of braving us with invasions; who have tamely given up *Minorca*, and who slept upon their arms, while the *French* are tearing from us our valuable dominions in *America*. A union of parties is the strength of the whole: An harmonious spirit is the one thing needful, and will save both the throne and the nation from disgrace and slavery. Division is weakness, and the grand machine by which all tyrants and bad ministers have carried their arbitrary projects into execution. It is high time to awake from our political lethargy; and to distinguish our sincere friends and real interest; to revere the men who are advocates for liberty; and to oppose licentiousness; who would reward heroes and punish every gilded slave and titled coward.

THESE are the words of *Britons*, who espouse no party but that of their country; and would engage in no quarrel, where the *British* honour and interest are not concerned.

MAHON is gone, and with it gone our TRADE!
Next farewell *Liberty*, celestial Maid!

But

But whence this sudden Gloom ; this deep Distress ?
 Whence this reverse of BRITONS Happiness ?
 Ah ! that's the Question ; and 'twere some Relief,
 Cou'd we but reach the Authors of our Grief.
 Wou'd Lords and Commons give to Justice Hand,
 The base Betrayers of this sinking Land :
 If not from *Naval Chiefs* our Misery's come,
 We've surely Traitors near the Helm at Home.

ANCHOR and HOPE near Charing-Cross, July 26.

YESTERDAY an ANTELOPE arrived here, and demanded the rewards some time since offered in the MONITOR to any one, who could give any satisfactory intelligence concerning the Two ADMIRABLES ; but he found the SEA LYON's Brains so tainted, the Joul of the NEWCASTLE SALMON so corrupted, and the Fox's Brush so offensively pissed upon, that he refused to carry them away, unless the LAND-LORD would suffer 'em to be hung up to sweeten in the open air.

NUMBER LII.

You have got an opportunity by God's blessing to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English Nation : but I tell you plainly my opinion is, if you do not lay bold on this occasion, you have no reason to hope for another.

K. WILLIAM's last Speech to his Parliament.

SATURDAY, August the 5th, 1756.

To the MONITOR.

SIR,

THE advice of this great Prince to his parliament to prosecute the war with France, in order to check its insatiable ambition, is surely adapted to the present times.—Dangerous as the situation of this na-
 tion

tion was then, it is certainly more so now ;—partly from the augmented power of the enemy by trade and navigation ; partly from those internal maladies, which have been long working in our own bowels.—The loss of Minorca, the contempt thereby brought upon our navy ; the dishonour upon the nation, heretofore so brave, as to be the terror of all who dared to injure or insult it, are the subjects, the serious subjects of all conversations ; and I send you an abstract of what passed the other evening at our club.

You know, Sir, in all such mixed assemblies there are persons of different talents and humours : some are silent ; others love to talk ; a few think ; and here and there one has a flow of ideas, and volubility of words, which qualify him to take the lead : of this last class two were distinguished above the rest : one of them was Sir *Thomas Downright* ; the other Mr. *Timothy Splithair*.

SIR THOMAS was an honest gentleman in the neighbourhood, of some education, and tolerably versed in our British history ; a true lover of his king and country, and a champion for its constitution, as founded upon principles of liberty : but having a little fire and brimstone in his blood from his mother's side, who was a Welch lady, he was prone to be choleric, in questions especially, that concerned the prosperity and honour of this nation.

Mr. *Timothy Splithair* had a different turn and temper ; cold, cautious, insinuating, and a great refiner of sentiment ; he was not absolutely a courtier ; but having received a small favour from the m——r, was edging on his side ; and when any body bore hard upon his measures, he had a curious talent of distinguishing, and could gloss over matters, so nearly, as would cheat a vulgar ear. These two gentlemen, principally engrossed the talk : and the substance of their discourse, was as follows.

WELL, neighbours, says Sir *Thomas* ; you see Minorca is gone at last ; notwithstanding the brave governor

governor and garrison held it out five weeks after the fleet deserted them ; and our hopes and fears are now decided : but take the whole business from the beginning to the end, both in plan and execution, with its surprising scenes ; it forms such a trag-i-comedy, and is upon the whole such a blot upon the present times, that I defy the most painful ransacker of our annals to produce its rival : the affair of Lestock and Mathews in the last war was a triumph in comparison to this ; and what a sad omen is this at the beginning of a war ? what a clog will it be upon our negotiations, when we come to treat of peace ? for my part, I cannot for my life see, what we can hope ; what not fear ; till we have some better proof of the wisdom and integrity of our m——rs ; till some other of our admirals have signalized themselves in some eminent action, and recovered the credit of the British flag.

THIS is not the clamour of the people only ; for were that the case, our deep-intrenched m——s might perhaps laugh at and despise it ; but it has reached the very throne itself :—The arrest of B——g, the moment he reached the English coast is a proof of this ; and a proof likewise that the m——y are forced to give way to the resentment of the nation : and should he, upon conviction be condemned, as a traitor to his King and Country, and offered up to the *manes* of those brave men, who fell in St. Philip's defence ; I hope, like petty villains, he will make his dying speech ; and, to ease his conscience, and make his peace with heaven (if such comprehensive iniquity can be forgiven) discover all his associates, if there be any, without respect of persons : remorse of mind may possibly extort, what a love of his country, could not ; and if he does this, he makes all the atonement in his power to an abused and deluded people. There are persons, I knew, such infidels in this matter, that be his guilt what it will, they declare, they would stand in his shoes for five shillings, as to the danger of a legal death : they consider him, as skulking, like others

others before him, behind the shield of an omnipotent m——r: but I will not believe, notwithstanding what is past, that impunity is the standing rule even of our present ad——n; or that it is possible for such a criminal, if found guilty, to be dismissed with the soft penalty of a reprobation, when every drop of his blood, and every inch of his body, stands a debtor to national justice.

SIR THOMAS, I agree with you in the main; but let us have a little patience: if B——g be the c——d and f——l, we have too' much reason to fear, no punishment can be too great for him: a man who kills another must pay the forfeit of his life: nay, a poor famished rogue, who stops you on the highway, and robs you of a shilling, is obnoxious to the same punishment: what then is due, or rather what is not due to the man, who plunders or stabs his native country; and whose mischief spreads itself, as wide as his infamy? but as I said, Sir *Thomas*, let us not prejudge; let the whole evidence be before the court, and then, and not till then, pass sentence: I know, Sir, you are a candid man, and would not in a private cause judge by another rule; and let not your zeal for the public, though it springs from a virtuous principle, transport you even to wish a thing, which in your cooler moments you might see cause to retract: the disgrace of our fleet in the mediterranean, and the sad consequence of it, I view in the same light, and feel with the same sensibility, as you do; but let us not be cast down too much; when it is possible at least, that this disgrace and loss may in a little time be in some measure repaired; we may have the good fortune perhaps, under a brave commander to retake the island; and then the laurels our enemy has gathered will soon wither; and the expence of his expedition be a kind of triumph over himself. As to our m——y, I am willing to think they will for their own sakes chuse to go to the bottom of this affair; and I hope, the justice of

of the nation will take place, so far as the guilt of the ad——l, and others shall be made evident.

Mr. SPLITHAIR, you are for ever refining, and by the artful juggle of your *perhaps*'s and *may-be*'s, call off our attention from the main point. As to what our m——y will do, the best way of judging is by what they have done: if the plan be as defective as the execution, and it seems so to me, it may be their interest to smother, not to clear the business: and may not persons, I beseech you, be bought to swear away the life of the nation, as well as the life of a single person? I say no more of this at present: but sure you are in jest, when you insinuate our retaking the island: What, do you think the French will leave a weak garrison in the fort, like us? the papers say, (and is it not probable?) that seven thousand men are left there; and had our garrison been equal to that number, with the heroic Blakeney at their head, they might have defied the army of the enemy, and held it out, in spite of all their efforts, till such a fleet might have been sent, as must have raised the siege: whether such a fleet would have been sent is one thing: but that such a fleet could have been sent is certain; and why such was not sent at first, ought to be explained, and must be explained before the jealousy of the nation will subside; who, (laying the whole circumstance of this case together) may think that the island was from the beginning devoted; and that B——g's expedition was only a mock affair to fence against the foreseen resentment of the people. But if this was not *the Case*, what was it? was it ignorance? was it supineness or indifference? what was it? These are distinct articles from B——g's conduct, which alone cannot solve our perplexities.

BUT tell me, Mr. *Splitbair*, what probability there is of retaking this island and fort:—suppose we have a more powerful fleet in those seas than any our enemy can face: what is to be done? the fleet alone can't

take the fort ; and, under the present menaces of the enemy against our mother country, can forces be spared ? what then can this fleet do, besides protecting our merchant-ships in those seas ? they may starve the garrison, you will say ? but can you think our vigilant enemy has not laid-in vast provisions, to add to the stores found there, when there was nothing to hinder him ; and would not the detention of so large a fleet distress our other services ? may not North America ? may not the Sugar Islands want a fleet ? nay ; do they not want one now, and the French ships ride triumphant in their seas ? and if the enemy has the address to divide our fleets, and draw us off from the other principal objects of our attention ; may they not be superior to us in a particular part ? this project then of retaking, I consider as nothing more than the bubble of a romantic fancy ; like a-tub thrown out for the leviathan, the people, to play with, whilst the harpoons are plunged in their sides.. In short, Sir, can any honest Briton forbear suspecting, in this whole affair, a complication of ignorance, supineness, cowardice, and possibly French Louis d'Or's :—but I forbear, for now B—g and other suspected persons are come home, we shall hope for further lights.

SIR THOMAS, I find you have a genius for jealousies and suspicions ; but you know, they prove nothing ; and in such a perplex'd state, as we are in, it is not easy to say, what is the best plan of policy, even although you were of the cabinet : how much more then for us private persons, who can only judge from a few outward appearances ? consider, Sir Thomas, the vast armies the French have upon the opposite coasts ; and should they attempt an invasion of this island, ought not our principal care to be employed at home ?

To be sure, Mr. *Splithair* ; and what then ? suppose I was apprehensive, that some ruffians intended to break open my mansion-house ; it would be prudent to be sure, to have a proper strength within to defend it, but would it be prudent to collect so much strength there,

there, as not to leave sufficient for my full barns and store-houses? our colonies abroad are the full barns and store-houses of the nation; if these are ruined, our trade and navigation are gone, and then we are no more a people. Besides, have we not camps upon camps, and trains of artillery dispersed up and down the kingdom, ready to face any sudden invasion? but how are our enemies to come over?

CAN you ask that, Sir *Thomas*? — Yes; I do. — Why! in transports and flat-bottomed vessels.— That may be, I grant; but must we not have notice of the preparations for so vast a design? it cannot possibly be a stolen affair; and moreover, can you believe the enemy, will engage in so bold an attempt without a fleet to cover it? No, Mr. *Splithair*, that is not his manner; no nation perhaps stands clearer of quixotism, than the French: And tell me, I beseech you, where is that fleet? have they any one ship of force north of Brest? and is not that block'd up by Boscawen?—but suppose it ventures out, and beats Boscawen?—Mr. *Splithair*! give me but a supposition or two, and I'll prove any thing: but suppose Boscawen beats them? are not the tables then turned? but put things at the worst; that Boscawen be beat; have we not still a vast reserve of men of war in our home ports? are they to be beat too?—why! then the game is over.—But I will not suppose all these disastrous events, and be scared out of my senses by probabilities and may-be's. It would be wise in our m——y, I grant, to secure us well at home, which they may at any time effectually do by arming our own people; but let not our home security be so much attended to, as to neglect our remoter wants; for in that case our ruin will be certain, though it may be deferred.

SIR *THOMAS*, you seem to be in no great terror about this home invasion:—not in such a terror as if the French were landed; and I think we should keep our senses clear and sedate, to be in a proper condition to receive them, should the attempt be made. As we are

are so much upon our guard, possibly this dreaded invasion is no more than a menace, possibly it may be a feint ; a stratagem for which the French are famous, to put our sagacious m——y upon a wrong scent, and engross their whole attention, whilst they pursue remoter schemes. You will not say, but this may be ; and therefore let us be wise, but not over wise ; a good name, but a foolish thing for all that ; and pray God too large a portion of this species of wisdom fall not upon the head of our m——rs, and quite turn their brains ; for then what shall we do ?

WELL, Sir *Thomas*, heaven grant this apprehended invasion be no more than a feint ; a stratagem of the enemy ; but should it happen, it may throw us all into confusion at once ; and we may become a conquered nation ; and how would you like to be a province to France, and governed by a French viceroy ?

ZOUNDS, Mr. *Splithair*, what do you mean ? we a province to France ? we governed by a French viceroy ? Sir, did I not hold you in jest, you would make my very hairs stand an end : what the case may be in a few years, if we go upon the same system of prodigality and corruption, and all our money squandered away, no man can say ; but this I will say ; if we are conquered and undone at present, we are conquered and undone by our m——y. Shew me the Briton who is not ready to take up arms in the defence of his King and Country, were he permitted by a good militia-bill ?

SIR THOMAS, you press too hard ; there are thousands that view them and their measures in a quite different light :—what then ? are there not thousands, whose interest it is to do so ? but, Sir *Thomas*, I entirely agree with you, that things are not yet so desperate, and I hope never will ; but should the Danish and Swedish squadrons join the French ; or under the mask of subsidiaries be added to their navy ; what the event may be, the great disposer of all things only can fore-
see !

see ! Mr. *Splithair*, the proper time to speak to that point is when it happens ; but whatever shall happen, the virtuous and brave Briton will have no cause to be ashamed of himself ; he may in the day of his tribulation call for water, wash his hands, and standing bold and erect upon the basis of his own integrity ; cry out in the face of the world, “ I am free from the blood of my country ; see ye to it ”. And should its plunderers, its betrayers with a m——r at their head audaciously answer ; “ Its blood be upon us and our children ; ” let their names be registered in the annals of this nation in the blackest characters, and remain eternal monuments of infamy and mischief.

OH, Sir *Thomas* ! you are too warm ; you seem all on fire :—and will not the provocation bear me out ? we a province to France ! who once conquered it ! we govern’d by a French viceroy ! who had one of our Kings crowned at Paris ! we, whose King to this day wears the title, though the kingdom has been for ages lost : ‘Blood, Sir ! the very mention of it makes me mad ! pray, good Sir *Thomas*, be appeased, I was not in earnest, and only bolted out the hints among the many idle words, which insensibly mix themselfes in our familiar discourse : I believe we are in no danger of this, notwithstanding your unfavourable opinion of our state-pilot, and his assisors.

THE company observing Sir *Thomas*’s colour go and come ; and not knowing in what his choler might end, called for a toast ; one immediately gave the immortal *BLAKENEY* ; and his rougher passions subsiding into pity and admiration, the rest of the evening was spent in table talk, and the easy unbendings of these little nocturnal assemblies. I am,

D

Mr. FREEHOLDER,

Your very humble Servant,

JONATHAN STANDEFAST.

F

Leather-

Leather-Market, LEADENHALL, Tuesday, Aug. the 3d.

THE price of *Leather* is considerably fallen, which, as we apprehend, is owing to a disagreeable report propagated without Temple-Bar, that LEATHER SHOES will soon be out of fashion, and that next winter it will be esteemed very *unpolite* to appear in any august, courtly, or genteel assembly, without either WOODEN SHOES or WHISKERS.

F I N I S.

